

3 1761 11971369 1

Handwritten signature: R. Frit

Final Report

Author: THE SOCIAL RESEARCH GROUP

Subject: A STUDY ^{OF} ~~ON~~ INTERETHNIC
RELATIONS IN CANADA

Division IX

Contract 2



Presented to the
LIBRARY *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by

Mr. Royce Frith
Commissioner

Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

ACCOPRESS

GENUINE PRESSBOARD BINDER

CAT. NO. **BP 2507 EMB**

ACCO CANADIAN COMPANY LTD.
TORONTO

OGDENSBURG, N.Y., CHICAGO, LONDON

CAI ZI

-63 B 500

A STUDY OF INTERETHNIC
RELATIONS IN CANADA

Robert May June 65.

The Social Research Group
Montreal, November 1965



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761119713691>

NR
RE-READ

CAI ZI - 63B500
SUMMARY
OF EP CHAPTERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
1	Introduction	3
2	The Importance of Ethnic Issues in Canadian Society	18
3	Distribution of Occupational Opportunities: Perceptions and Attitudes	45
4	Perceptions of Ethnic Differences in the Governmental Sector and Judgments Concerning their Legitimacy	69
5	Quality of Services in Stores and Restaurants	99
6	Langage et Culture	132
7	Demands and Complaints of Ethnic Groups in Canada	153
8	Séparatisme, Annexion et Autres Questions se Rapportant à l'Unité Canadienne	167
9	Bilinguisme au Canada	206
10	Social Contacts and Associational Behavior	233
11	Economic, Political and Social Background and Attitudes	255
Appendix		
I	Echantillon	297
II	Indices	326

Summary following page 331

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

An important component in the structure of the relationship between any two ethnic groups is the set of opinions, feelings and attitudes within each group. The present study is concerned with the opinions and attitudes of the various ethnic groups throughout Canada --- with the feelings and ideas about the position each group now occupies in the social structure; about the position it should occupy; about the status of the French and the English language in this country and the status they should have; about the things that ought to be changed, both in general terms and in relation to specific issues. The study deals with perceptions and not with the actual positions of the ethnic groups relative to each other.

It is important to stress immediately that we are not trying to describe English or French Canadian attitudes and opinions. Rather, we are trying to describe the distribution of attitudes within each of the ethnic categories. In fact, it is an important finding of this study that the major ethnic groups in Canada do not --- except in a few instances --- react as homogeneous blocs. Within each group, opinions vary considerably depending on the issue and depending on which social category one is looking at.

The various questions dealt with in this study can be subsumed under the following headings:

- a) the concern with ethnic problems: to what extent are Canadians of different ethnic origins concerned with the problems pertaining to the relations between English and French in Canada?

b) Ethnic stratification: do members of different ethnic groups perceive political, economic, and social inequality between the groups? Do they think these inequalities are legitimate or not?

c) Demands and complaints: do people evaluate as excessive some other's demands and attempts at gaining influence?

d) Specific issues: some of the demands and complaints of Quebec Canadians have been singled out as specific issues on which to gather opinions.

e) Segregation and distances: to what extent do members of each ethnic group have personal relationships with members of other groups? How do they feel about such contacts?

Through interviews, opinions and attitudes were gathered from a national sample of 4,071 Canadians. The sample was randomly selected in all regions of the country. Since English Canadians are proportionately not numerous in Quebec and French Canadians relatively not numerous outside of Quebec, these two categories of people were over-sampled, in order to have a sufficient number included in the sample. Of course, in calculating the proportions presented in this report, the appropriate weight was assigned to each case. ⁽¹⁾

The persons included in the sample were asked several questions bearing on each of the topics listed above. They were also asked about their social background. In the remainder of this report, each of these topics and the main questions pertaining to them will be presented together with a summary of the major findings. ⁽²⁾

(1) A detailed description of the sample design and sampling procedures can be found in an appendix to the report.

(2) More detailed summaries can be found at the end of each chapter.

Most historians and social analysts, Canadians or not, would probably agree that one of the perennial problems of Canadian society has been and still is concerned with the relations between English and French. Yet, when our sample was asked about the national problem that worries them the most, less than one fifth spontaneously mentioned problems related to English-French relations. This is perhaps even more surprising in view of the fact that the last few years have brought about such phenomena as the separatist movement, other non-separatist nationalistic associations, P.L.Q. groups, organizations, the flag issue, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the "laureate" slogan and manifestation.

In spite of this, few Canadians are worried about this problem. Just when asked directly about a list of problems, including the ethnic one, the proportion who mention it as the most serious facing the country is less than 30%. In the context of the events of the last few years, we can say that, statistically speaking, the ethnic problem is not a national problem.

On the other hand, if we compare the proportion mentioning this problem with the proportion mentioning other problems, we can qualify our conclusion. Indeed, of all the problems mentioned, the problems bearing on French-English relations are the most frequently mentioned. This issue worries more Canadians than any other issue mentioned. Spontaneously, more respondents thought of the ethnic problem than of any other problem. When asked directly about various issues, the lack of government stability in Ottawa was mentioned about as frequently as the ethnic problem.

The ethnic problem, then, does not worry a large part of the Canadian public, but it nevertheless tends to worry a greater proportion than most other problems. It ranks first or second among the problems.

12/8/72

The second observation that was made is that English and French Canadians are about equally likely to worry about the ethnic problem. In this sense, it is just as much an English problem as it is a French problem. Presumably, it is not the same kind of problem on both sides; but it is equally important. There is a difference between the two groups that is worthwhile pointing out: among English Canadians, the ethnic problem is the first; second comes "world situation and war" and third "government stability" and "unemployment". Among French Canadians, "economic problems" and "unemployment" come first with ethnic problems. The second in order are "taxes" and "world situation and war".

When they worry about Canadian problems, English Canadians worry primarily about the ethnic problem and political problems; French Canadians on the other hand, worry primarily about ethnic and economic problems.

Among both English and French Canadians, those who worry about ethnic problems tend to have more education than those who do not worry. They also tend to be bilingual. As far as the regions of the country are concerned, it is in the Maritimes that the level of ethnic awareness is the lowest. Among English Canadians, it is the highest in Quebec. Among French Canadians, it tends to be higher in urban areas. Concern with ethnic problems is also highest among English who have contacts with French Canadians, and among French who have contacts with English Canadians.

English Canadians for whom French is some part of their lives — contacts, bilingualism, living in Quebec — tend to worry more about the ethnic problem. Similarly, French Canadians for whom English is part of their lives — contacts, bilingualism, urban life, living almost anywhere in Canada — tend to worry more frequently about English-French relations. The importance of education should also be mentioned: it seems to be one of the factors that has the greatest influence on the attitudes held by people, English or French.

The results have also shown that English Canadians are more likely to find that French Canadians in general and French Canadian politicians in particular worry too much about the ethnic problem than not enough or just enough; French Canadians, on the other hand, are more likely to think the opposite: that the French are not worry enough. But, if the English have a tendency to think that the French worry too much, they also have a tendency to think that English Canadians in general and politicians in particular do not worry enough. French Canadians agree with English Canadians as to the insufficient degree of concern of the English with the ethnic question.

1.2 Ethnic Stratification

It is probably safe to say that most of the debates over ethnic problems --- in Canada or elsewhere --- have to do with the distribution of power or access to the centers of power, with the distribution of economic resources and opportunities, and with the distribution of social and cultural advantages. Three aspects of the distribution of political, economic and social advantages have been examined in this study:

- To what extent are there any inequalities among the ethnic groups in Canada?
- Which inequalities are perceived by members of the various ethnic groups?
- Are the perceived inequalities considered legitimate or not?

A. Actual Inequalities

Concerning the actual inequalities between ethnic groups in Canada, this survey found that English and "Other" Canadians are more likely to have high incomes than French Canadians; they are also more likely to hold managerial or professional occupations. Moreover, English and "Other" Canadians are much more likely to have gone beyond primary and secondary school than French Canadians. Income, occupation, and education are surely interrelated. Education for instance, is

probably both cause and effect of the level of income. But whatever the interrelationships, and whatever the other sets of factors that would account for the ethnic differences, the fact is that the goods (most of life -- education, income, status -- are not equally distributed among the ethnic groups in Canada.

In order to form an impression of the situation in the French Alps, the respondents were asked to compare their own status relative to their father's status. It was found that English and French Canadians are equally likely to feel that they have moved to a higher social rank than that of their father (a little less than 40%); the "Others" are also more likely to have experienced social mobility. On the other hand, compared to 3 or 4 years ago, French Canadians are less likely than the English and other Canadians to feel that their financial situation is better; French Canadians are also less likely to feel that their income will be higher in 3 or 4 years from now.

Inequalities exist primarily between French and non-French. Inequalities exist in the present socio-economic status and in the opportunities for the improvement of one's situation.

Unfortunately, survey research does not lend itself to the measurement of political inequalities -- influence and power -- and cultural inequalities -- talents, social institutions, language and art. On these questions, we have to restrict ourselves to the subjective intergroup comparisons made by the respondents themselves.

B. Perception of Inequalities

English Canadians are more frequently considered than any other group to have more chances of getting the best jobs in industry in general, and in the federal government. They are seen in this position of advantage primarily by French Canadians, and also by the "Other" Canadians and the English Canadian respondents themselves. In the same token, French Canadians and "Other" Canadians are frequently seen as having more chances for the least jobs.

The same is true concerning influence on the decisions of the federal government and concerning the chances of being better treated by federal civil servants: English Canadians are more frequently than any other group found to have more influence and to receive better treatment by federal civil servants -- again, primarily by French Canadians, but also by "Other" Canadians and by English Canadian respondents themselves.

It is worth noting that on the questions dealing with access to jobs, political influence, and quality of treatment of civil servants, the most frequent response among English and "Other" Canadians is that all are equal while the most frequent response among French Canadians is that English Canadians have greater advantages.

As far as influence on the decisions of the provincial governments is concerned, English Canadians are considered as having more of it by Other Canadians and by English Canadian respondents themselves, although the most frequent response is again that all are equal. French Canadians, on the other hand, are seen as having more influence by French Canadian respondents.

In economic life and in federal politics, then it is either the English who are seen as being in a position of advantage or no group at all. In provincial politics, it seems to depend on the province.

Concerning the probability of using one's two languages in stores and restaurants, we find that English Canadians have a higher chance of doing so while "Other" Canadians have a little better than a 60% chance and French Canadians a little better than a 50% chance. However, when not served in their own language, French and English Canadians appear equally likely of getting a good service while "Other" Canadians are the most fortunate in this respect.

When the respondents compare each other's educational institutions and talents, English Canadians are again the most likely to be mentioned as being at the top. English, French and "Other" Canadian respondents more frequently mention the English than any other group as having better schools and more ability in the fields of business and finance. In the field of music, literature and the theatre, French respondents mention French Canadians more frequently; and English and "Other" respondents mention "Other" Canadians about equally; French respondents mention English and French Canadians about equally; and the other respondents mention "Other" Canadians more frequently.

There seems, then, to be less inequality perceived in the realm of talents and abilities than in economic and political opportunities. Nevertheless, some areas of inequality are perceived in which French Canadians have the lowest tendency of being mentioned as being at the top. Even the French Canadian respondents do not seem enthusiastic about the abilities of their own group, except in the case of the arts. French educational institutions are also less likely to be seen as best by all three categories of respondents, including French Canadians themselves.

Now, what about the social status of the various ethnic groups? For instance, what about the quality of the English and the French spoken in Canada in comparison with the language spoken in England and France respectively? In the eyes of all three categories of respondents, Canadian English compares favorably with that of England. But, the same is not true of French: the English and "Other" respondents tend to think it compares unfavorably with the French of France; French Canadians on the other hand think it compares just as well with the French of France as Canadian English compares with England's.

An idea of the social status that the ethnic groups give to each other can also be obtained by looking at the pattern of preferences for one's personal friends and relatives. Whom do the respondents prefer from outside their own group? French Canadians prefer the English to the "Others" both as personal friends and as relatives; English Canadians prefer the "Others" to the French; and the "Others" prefer the English to the "Others" and "Others" to French Canadians. The English are found the most desirable and the French the least desirable as personal associates and relatives.

Whatever the dimension examined: economic, political, cultural, or social, English Canadians tend to be seen as being the top status of Canadian society by French and "Other Canadians" and by English Canadians themselves.

C. Legitimacy of Inequalities

The legitimacy of the ethnic stratification was examined only in relation to economic and political inequalities perceived by the respondents. One would suppose that in a classification of societies, Canada would be grouped with achievement oriented societies as far as access to economic positions is concerned. To be consistent with such a classification, our results should show a majority disapproving the greater access to good jobs of any one group. This is what we find, but with one exception: French Canadians have a greater tendency to approve of their own position of advantage when they see themselves as holding one. This is particularly true in the case of jobs in industry, but it is also true in the case of jobs in the federal government. The majority of English Canadians who see themselves as having better access to jobs disapprove of this situation.

In the field of politics, the situation is different. Here the general tendency is for each group to disapprove of the greater influence of the other group: the English disapprove of the greater influence they perceive on the part of the French, and the

French disapprove of the greater influence they perceive on the part of the English. Both groups have a weaker tendency to disapprove of the greater influence of their own group. Considering the proportions that English Canadians constitute of the total population of Canada, it is as if they were operating on the principle of "representation" or influence proportional to the size of the groups and that French Canadians, on the other hand, were operating on the "one-man-one-vote" principle whereby each group is given the same political weight irrespective of the size of their populations.

1.3 The Demands of Ethnic Groups

The distribution of political influence among ethnic groups is largely the result of the process whereby each of the groups sharing the same environment is trying to get for itself a "fair" share of influence in the socio-political order. In such a competitive process, all groups keep a close watch on each others' attempts and make evaluations of them. This is particularly true when one of the groups has some competitive advantages over the others: differences in size, economic power, technological development, political position.

The tendency mentioned in the previous section to consider the greater political influence of one's group as legitimate and that of the other as excessive is consistent with the competitive behavior discussed here. The same pattern is also observed when we ask the respondents whether or not they think that English and French Canadians are trying to gain too much influence in the political affairs of Canada. There is a tendency for the English-speaking respondents to say that French Canadians are trying to gain too much influence, while French Canadians have a tendency to think the same of the English.

It is important to note, however, that there is a sizeable minority — about 25% — of both French and English respondents who do not think that the attempts of the other group are excessive.

Moreover, this minority is more likely to be found among the more educated, among the younger people, among those with contacts with members of the other group, and among bilinguals. These results tend to support the fact that it is normal for such groups to try to improve its influence, that this is in the nature of the political process.

Similar results obtain when the respondents are asked about the demands of French Canadians: whether French Canadians are asking the rest of Canada for more than what they have a right to expect and whether or not French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group in Canada.

Also consistent with these results are those pertaining to the reason why French Canadians occupy a low position in the ethnic stratification system. In this connection, respondents were asked if they thought French Canadians were "wrong in putting the blame on others because what they complain about is mostly their own fault". The majority of the respondents -- English, French, or "Others" -- thought there was some truth in this. Of course, French Canadians were the least likely to think so, but there are nevertheless about 60 per cent. But that these respondents would not say that other factors are also involved; but at least the relatively poor position of French Canadians is considered as partly due to their own deficiencies.

These responses can be interpreted as the "non-inferiority" response on the part of the English responses; or as the "inferiority" response on the part of the French Canadians. But it can also be interpreted within the framework suggested by the pattern of responses obtained when people are engaged in a competitive process in which whatever you win you will have to win for yourself; that you cannot blame the other group for whatever you do not win, since the other group is just trying to do the same thing as your own group.

The two responses may appear inconsistent: on the one hand to say that the other group is trying to gain too much influence and on the other to say that what you complain about in your own group but they are not really inconsistent. This is the way all competitive behavior. You disapprove of the way your competitor operates, you criticize his moves, his strategies; yet, if he wins, you show yourself the weakness of your own moves and strategies. This, of course, does not mean that all criticisms of one group against the other are purely tactical. Some are, but some may also refer to violations of rules in the competition, that is one form or another of "unfair competition". The difficulty lies in identifying those criticisms that are tactical from those that are not.

As mentioned above, there is a small group of respondents who seem to be quite conscious of this competitive process and to accept it as part of Canadian life. In this respect it is worth noting that we also found a similar propensity at the beginning of the 1960s — who explicitly agreed "that members of each ethnic group should try to get for themselves as many of the best jobs as possible and let other groups take care of themselves". These people would probably not think of the claims of other groups as demands for recognition, but rather as part of the competitive process.

4.4 Opinions on Specific Issues

In addition to attitudes on the demands and attempts at gaining influence on the part of English and French Canadians, the respondents were also asked to give their opinions on specific issues. These issues were selected from among those that generally dominated public opinion in Canada at the time of the original survey. The issues on which questions were asked are the following:

- Should the federal government have more or less control on Quebec?
- Should English and French both be official languages of all provincial governments?

- Should all citizens of Canada be able to deal with the Federal government in either English or French?
- Should children learn the other group's language in elementary schools?
- Should provincial governments finance French Catholic schools outside of Quebec? Non-denominational French schools? or neither?
- In positions of industrial firms, should the employees who constitute the married minority learn the language of the majority?
- Does Canada need more immigrants?

A. Federal Control Over Quebec

About 4 out of every 10 respondents favor the present position of Quebec in the Confederation. This is true for all ethnic groups although English Canadians seem to favor the status quo a little more frequently than French Canadians. On the other hand, about a third of the respondents in each ethnic category favor some change from the present situation.

French, English and Others differ as to the direction of this change. Most of the English favoring change favor more federal control over Quebec; similarly for the "Other" Canadians. French Canadians, on their part, are more divided; about 2/3 favor less control and 1/3 more control.

Finally, the separatist solution, that is the solution where the Federal government has no control any more on Quebec, is chosen by a very small fraction of the respondents: about 5%. However, it is equally favored by French, English and "Other" respondents.

2. English and French as Official Government Languages

On this question, French Canadians are in nearly perfect agreement: 90% think that both languages should be official government languages. English and "Other" Canadians, on the other hand, are in perfect disagreement: for nearly everyone who agrees, there is one who disagrees.

3. English and French as Federal Civil Service Languages

Here again French Canadians are unanimous: 96% think that all citizens of Canada should be able to deal with the Federal government in either French or English. But if French Canadians did not get any support from English and Other Canadians no provincial official language law could get considerable support on this question. Indeed, since 9% of English and "Other" Canadians think the same as the French respondents

4. French and English in Elementary Schools

Almost all respondents say that French-speaking children should learn English in elementary schools. Even French Canadians think so; in fact the proportion who think so is still higher among French Canadians than among the other groups (95% compared to 90%). English Canadians are again unanimous in thinking that English-speaking children should learn French in elementary schools, while only 3/4 of English Canadian respondents and a little less than 2/3 of the "Other" group say so. The proportion is lower among English-speaking Canadians, but it is nevertheless quite high.

5. Provincial Financing of French or French Catholic Schools

About as many English Canadian respondents think that the provincial governments should not finance French Catholic schools as

When the French Canadian respondents were asked what they would like to see in the future, the fact that most schools would be bilingual would be a little more support on the part of English Canadians and a little less on the part of the French Canadians. The "Other" Canadians are close to the English in their opinion, although a little more favorable to such an idea.

Language and Religion in Business and Educational Fields

The great majority of French Canadians think that the minority should learn the language of the majority in a bilingual manner. This majority is French or English. The English and "Other" Canadian respondents, on the other hand, show no inclination to say one way or the other. The French majority should learn English and so those that the English majority should learn French. Respondents were asked if 10 English Canadians and slightly less "Other" Canadians can think that the English should learn French and the French are a majority.

G. Do Canadian Need More Immigrants?

The "Other" Canadian respondents are the most likely to answer affirmatively to this question; in fact, the majority do so. English Canadians are equally split between a positive and a negative response, while 7 out of 10 French Canadian respondents feel that Canada has already enough or too many immigrants.

Of all the issues considered -- language, publicly financed separate schools, political status of Quebec and immigration -- it was on the issue pertaining to immigration with the least split. French Canadians respond as a block. On these issues, they are nearly in perfect unanimity: at least 85% and more frequently 90% of all of the French Canadian sample respond in the same way.

English Canadian respondents are not as lively in expressing their views. However, when they do so, it is also on the language issue, but in a quite different way. English Canadians nearly all agree that French Canadians should learn English as a second language and in progressively English companies. This would not lead the reader to underestimate how favorable the English Canadian respondents are towards the French language. In fact, it is a striking result that the majority of English Canadians want their children to learn French so that both French and English would be federal working languages and that the English minority in a company should learn French. Thus, there is not as much antagonism among them as among the French.

The favorable attitude to French is shared more completely among the English who already have some knowledge of French among the more educated and among the younger generation. It also seems to be more frequent in Quebec.

As the question of government support is a more delicate one, and of the matter of bilingualism, the two groups are far from having similar views; their opinions seem to be in opposite direction.

5.4 Immigration and Outrage

We have just mentioned that English Canadians tend to be favorable to the French language in Canada. Consistent with this is the fact that the majority (6 out of 10) are willing to learn or improve their French; a similar position prevails among the French Canadian respondents. It is true that most cannot speak French at all (2/5), but there is considerable goodwill.

In contrast, most French Canadians who speak some English (2 out of 10). In spite of this, they are still more likely to want to learn or improve their English than the English are likely to want to learn or improve their French. This probably reflects the economic advantages associated with English in Canada.

The majority of English Canadians would like to have or already have French Canadians among their friends and relatives. The majority think it would be good if all Canadians could speak both French and English. Corresponding attitudes are found among French Canadian respondents with even higher proportions.

Also, the respondents in each ethnic category are about equally likely to be optimistic concerning the future state of English-French relations in Canada. French Canadians are a little more likely to be optimistic than the English and the "Others". Also, the majority of French and English respondents (about 6 out of 10) think that the proportion of people speaking French will be greater in the years from now. The "Other" Canadians are less optimistic in this respect.

From these responses emerges a picture of actual understanding of friendship and of goodwill. These attitudes are consistent with many of the responses described in other sections, such as the responses on the language issues. However, they are not as consistent with some other attitudes, such as those concerning separate schools and the attitudes of the French and English respondents on what should be a political strategy. Should these patterns be treated as inconsistent? Probably not. They should rather be treated as responses at two levels of interaction: the individual and the group level.

We find in the socio-psychological and sociological literature many instances of integration at the individual level and of personal cleavages at the group level.⁽¹⁾ We seem to find through this study a considerable amount of integration at the individual level (personal contacts, actual acceptance in friendship and kindly relationships) but we also find that these attitudes say of say not much about the attitudes related to the political and social character of each group.

(1) For a discussion of this point, see for example:

1. Berrebi, "The Conceptualization of Intergroup Relations and Personal Inference to Conflict", *Social Forces*, 49 (1971), 19, 243-51.

The third section deals with the major worries of respondents. We analyse their worries vis-à-vis national problems and then turn to their personal worries. Both of these parts are done in terms of whether the worries are ethnic or not ethnic in nature. In the second section, we discuss the seriousness of respondents of the seriousness of several problems that Canada faces today. In particular, we study how serious ethnic problems are perceived in the national life of the country and the respondent's own life. The third section deals with the problems of the relations between English and French Canadians. We examine the importance given to these problems by respondents of both groups. In this section also we look at the opinions of people as to the importance given by politicians to the problems of ethnic relations. Finally in a fourth and last section we describe the extent to which the respondents are aware of the existence of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

These four sections make up Part I of this chapter. In the second part the very same questions as in Part I are asked, but this time variables other than ethnicity are introduced in the analysis so that it is possible to study the distribution of the answers presented in Part I according to a number of other factors (such as age, ethnicity (region of residence, socio-economic status, age, etc.).

3.1. Major Worries

The results to be presented in this section are the answers to open-ended questions.⁽¹⁾ Respondents were first asked about the worries they entertain vis-à-vis national problems and about their

(1) The questions were:

"Among the problems that Canada faces, which one worries you the most?" and

"Where are you more or less worried about some things? What is the thing that worries you the most?"

Among the "Canadians", those who are worried by the ethnic problem are the English Canadians (33.3%) and those who are worried by the French Canadian problem (22.8%). The English Canadians are less worried about the ethnic problem: they are however more worried about economic problems and they worry more about the world situation. Finally those "Canadians" who are not a long time in the country and English are the ones who worry most about ethnic problems (22.8%) and also about the world situation (24.7%).⁽¹⁾

The other Canadians are as likely to be concerned with ethnic problems (14.4%) as with the world situation (14.5%). Unemployment and unemployment problems are also part of their worries. When one, with the French Canadians, the ones who are least worried about ethnic problems.

There does seem to be no clear-cut ethnic difference in the major worries of people. Being a member of one ethnic group or another does not seem to influence one's preoccupations about national problems. Variations from one group to another in the proportion of people worrying about ethnic matters and about the world problem seems to be given about the same weight by all groups. It is significant that no national problem, at the time of the survey, attracted the attention of even a quarter of the Canadian population.

Turning now to personal problems we find that people are more worried about these any more than about national problems. In other words, of course, that those who do not worry about national problems are the same persons who do not worry about their personal problems. Although there are also some 20% of the respondents who are worried about their personal problems and also about the world situation, less than 5% of the respondents are worried about ethnic problems.

(1) The reader should bear in mind that the ordering of the ethnic categories is quite small. The percentages are therefore subject to a large sampling error.



What then is the nature of the problem of the lack of understanding between English and French Canadians? The content of problems referred to national identity is more important than other problems? Do attitudes vary according to the seriousness of this particular problem?

The lack of understanding between English and French Canadians on the ethnic problem can come from several sources. First, 88.8% of the sample saying that this is the main economic problem. In second place, but almost equal with the first problem, is the lack of government stability in Ottawa. The development of the Canadian economy, the federalization of the provinces, and the adoption of atomic energy are all being put in a less important place.

As in the previous section, English Canadians and French Canadians feel the same way about the problem of the lack of understanding between English and French Canadians. English Canadians give slightly more importance to the lack of government stability than to ethnic problems. French Canadians give a definite priority to ethnic problems; the other problems are all given importance to them. 'Unemployment' and 'lack of government stability' are given less importance to ethnic problems and to the lack of understanding between English and French Canadians. The French Canadians also give equal weight to these two problems.

As before, there does not seem to be any significant difference between the ethnic groups: the poor French Canadian and the lack of understanding between English and French Canadians. The main problem is about the same for all groups. The lack of government stability in Ottawa is equally important for all groups except by the French Canadians and the poor French Canadian group who are not as likely to consider this a serious problem.

*) It should probably be mentioned that when the question was put forward to the population what had been the most important problem, the answer was an important question.

There is a discrepancy between the spontaneous response and the one to the list of items. This suggests that a number of people may have never even thought of any of the issues we asked them about in this survey; or that these issues do not concern them. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the results of this study.

What is probably surprising is that even with a limited number of categories in the question, the percentage of the population which thinks that the relations between the French and the English in Canada is a serious problem tends to be quite close to 30 for all groups. This is not a very high proportion.

Comp. to what?

Table 2.4

Percentage Distribution of the Problems
Considered the Most Serious, by Ethnic Groups
(Problems Related to Personal Life)

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS			OTHERS %	
			E. %	F. %	Others %		
The large number of immigrants coming to Canada	7.9	8.8	6.6	4.4	4.6	4.1	7.6
The high cost of living	32.4	32.5	29.0	33.0	22.3	32.9	32.5
The difficulties between French Canadians and English Canadians	16.7	8.3	18.9	8.8	16.5	19.7	15.4
Too high taxes	18.2	26.2	16.7	17.6	24.5	17.1	20.1
Unemployment	22.5	22.0	24.8	33.0	14.4	22.5	24.4
	(11161)	(7054)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(1693)	

The Place Given to the French-English Problem

by French and English Canadians, by Ethnic Group

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS			Others
	%	%	E.	F.	Others	%
<u>Worry too much</u>						
French Canadians	47.7	24.3	49.3	29.7	40.9	31.0
English Canadians	19.8	15.4	20.9	17.6	13.5	10.7
<u>Do not worry enough</u>						
French Canadians	17.1	35.7	13.0	18.7	7.2	10.0
English Canadians	41.6	37.9	39.0	40.7	35.4	34.7
<u>Worry just enough</u>						
French Canadians	7.0	19.7	6.6	27.5	16.0	5.7
English Canadians	14.2	15.2	11.9	16.5	13.1	14.5
<u>Do not worry at all</u>						
French Canadians	8.1	5.4	11.1	2.4	1.4	3.6
English Canadians	11.2	12.9	13.5	7.7	5.4	3.6
	(11170)	(7044-48)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(167)

The perception of French Canadians is not different from that of other respondents when it comes to assessing the behavior of the English Canadians. Close to 40% of the respondents in this ethnic group agree that the English Canadians should worry more about the French-English problem; the English Canadians themselves agree that less than one fifth of the sample considers that the French Canadians pay too much attention to the ethnic problem.

We have already noted that worrying about ethnic identity does not vary much from one ethnic group to another; rather, we can suggest clearly it seems to be a class phenomenon. Whatever the ethnic affiliation of the respondent, the greater the amount of education, the higher the income, and the closer to the top of the occupational hierarchy, the more likely is one to worry about ethnic problems. These statements are documented in Table 2.8 (parts A and C).

There is no definite age-pattern among English Canadians. Ethnic preoccupations are equally important for the young as for the old. However, young French Canadians are more likely to be concerned with ethnic issues than older ones. This is also true of the "Quebec" French. (See Table 2.8, part D).

The region is another factor which has some effect on the incidence of ethnic worries. Except for the French Canadian people who live in the province of Quebec are more likely to worry than people living elsewhere in the country. This is not surprising in view of the nature of English-French relations in Quebec. (See Table 2.8, part E).

Finally, those who have contacts with people of another ethnic group are different from those people who live in ethnic isolation. A young English Canadian who has contacts with a French Canadian or another Canadian, is more likely to be concerned with ethnic problems and anxieties; the same is true for a French Canadian who has contacts with an English Canadian or another Canadian. (See Table 2.8, part F).

Importance of Candidates Who Have Served in the
(When Asked About National President)

	E.C.	N.C.	Combined
<u>Length of Service</u>			
0 - 7 years	9.5 (1576)	7.9 (2837)	8.6 (4413)
8 - 12 years	13.1 (7562)	16.3 (5442)	14.4 (13004)
13 years or more	26.8 (2020)	33.4 (751)	29.6 (2771)
<u>Annual Income</u>			
\$2,999 or less	11.6 (1395)	11.4 (1469)	11.5 (2864)
\$3,000 - \$6,499	17.0 (3532)	12.8 (2841)	16.3 (6373)
\$6,500 or more	25.7 (2581)	22.5 (1069)	23.6 (3650)
<u>Education</u>			
Lower	13.7 (2484)	9.7 (2035)	13.4 (4519)
Lower-middle	15.8 (2448)	13.4 (1784)	14.6 (4232)
Middle	20.4 (1943)	15.4 (1038)	17.9 (2981)
Upper	26.0 (3431)	25.2 (1449)	25.6 (4880)
Upper	44.0 (1513)	38.5 (209)	41.2 (1722)
<u>Age</u>			
30 or less	20.2 (1157)	16.9 (1462)	18.5 (2619)
40 - 49	17.4 (4786)	15.9 (3458)	16.6 (8244)
50 or more	19.6 (4091)	15.4 (2113)	17.5 (6204)

Table 2.3 (cont'd)

Population of Countries Who Have Accepted the
(United Nations Arms Reduction Treaty)

	D.C. %	F.O. %	C.I.A. %	
A. Foreign				
0 - 7 years	1.5 (1376)	3.1 (2835)	3.4 (318)	
8 - 12 years	2.9 (7544)	3.2 (3440)	3.5 (2145)	
13 years or more	7.1 (2028)	8.0 (751)	3.6 (346)	
B. Domestic				
\$2,999 or less	1.5 (1895)	3.0 (1469)	3.4 (447)	
\$3,000 - \$6,499	3.4 (3514)	3.2 (2849)	3.7 (406)	
\$6,500 or more	4.0 (2981)	5.9 (1069)	3.8 (347)	
C. Community				
Lower	1.4 (2475)	2.8 (2051)	1.7 (855)	
Lower Middle	1.3 (2148)	4.0 (1781)	1.8 (711)	
Middle	4.0 (1943)	3.2 (1066)	3.3 (1000)	
Upper	6.7 (3034)	4.4 (1419)	3.6 (1000)	
Unknown	2.2 (1305)	4.5 (669)	3.8 (1000)	
D. Age				
18 or less	3.6 (1949)	4.5 (1457)	3.7 (1000)	
20 - 49	2.5 (777)	3.5 (718)	3.8 (1000)	
50 or more	4.4 (1091)	2.5 (2111)	3.8 (1000)	

Table 2.9

Percentage of those who have been asked to
 indicate the most serious problem by the Nation
 (When Asked About National Problems)

	P.C. %	P.C. %	No. of Cases
By Age			
18 - 29 years	25.5 (1383)	38.8 (2111)	21.1 (1174)
30 - 49 years	29.3 (7542)	33.9 (3440)	23.8 (2411)
50 years or more	26.0 (2006)	25.8 (743)	27.8 (200)
By Income			
\$7,999 or less	26.7 (1895)	28.1 (1459)	31.1 (167)
\$8,000 - \$14,999	29.0 (354)	32.9 (2309)	21.8 (107)
\$15,000 or more	29.4 (29.8)	34.9 (1061)	27.6 (100)
By Education			
Less than High School	31.0 (2404)	30.4 (2045)	21.1 (200)
High School Graduate	24.7 (2123)	29.2 (1761)	27.9 (1000)
Some College	32.1 (1937)	37.8 (1081)	32.0 (100)
College Graduate	24.6 (304)	37.4 (1415)	21.1 (400)
Postgraduate	30.8 (1315)	21.8 (501)	31.1 (100)
By Sex			
Male	28.1 (1949)	32.1 (1481)	27.4 (100)
Female	26.6 (4769)	30.7 (3140)	27.1 (1000)
Not Stated	30.1 (400)	31.1 (209)	27.1 (100)

Table 2.9 (continued)

Proportion of Canadians Who Consider the Ethnic
Problem as the Most Serious Problem, by Ethnic Group
(When Asked About National Problems)

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	
H. Residence				
Village	28.8 (2558)	21.7 (1496)	20.5 (438)	20.5 (1200)
Urban area	30.1 (3763)	29.6 (2133)	30.5 (1111)	29.6 (1400)
Metropolitan area	26.8 (4765)	37.5 (3381)	25.6 (1908)	25.6 (1000)
I. Region				
Maritimes	30.3 (1603)	29.3 (436)	33.1 (260)	30.3 (1000)
Quebec	37.0 (755)	30.5 (5510)	35.4 (407)	37.0 (1200)
Ontario	28.2 (4727)	37.2 (792)	25.0 (1570)	28.2 (1000)
Provinces and B.C.	26.0 (4019)	44.6 (280)	25.8 (1233)	26.0 (1000)
G. Economic Deprivation				
None	28.8 (6499)	33.4 (3707)	27.6 (2217)	28.8 (1000)
Some or much	27.6 (4542)	20.1 (3234)	26.2 (1205)	27.6 (1000)

The extent to which the ethnic problem is considered serious varies with the national background. For example, French Canadians in Quebec who consider it one of the most serious problems Canada faces, compared to people of this background living outside Quebec. Where the English are in minority, the ethnic problem is not so serious. The French Canadians in the rest of Quebec are also in minority and accordingly a higher proportion of them consider the seriousness of the problem of ethnic relations. As far as the other factors are concerned, except for the social class difference among French Canadians, we observe little variation from one kind of respondents to another (Table 2.9).

When we consider how serious the ethnic problem is as an individual problem (Table 2.10) we get a slightly different picture. Indeed, whatever the ethnic group of the respondent, his education, his income, and his occupation is positively related to how serious he thinks the ethnic problem is. This is exactly what we observed earlier. People as individuals are primarily concerned with their financial and family situation. It is of course correct that those at the bottom of the social hierarchy will be more seriously concerned with ethnic relations, and will be less likely to consider it as a serious problem.

Here also to the non-French in Quebec, the ethnic problem will appear more serious than to people living elsewhere in the country. It has already noted however that on the whole the respondents do not think that ethnic problems are very serious in Canada. This is because they are related to their individual life than when they are related to national life.

Table 2.10

Proportion of Respondents Who Consider the
Ethnic Problem as the Most Serious One, by Ethnic Group
(When Asked About Individual Problems)

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	ALL %
<u>A. Duration</u>				
0 - 7 years	8.9 (1367)	4.8 (2825)	16.4 (481)	10.5 (1388)
8 - 12 years	15.4 (7538)	8.6 (3432)	15.7 (2131)	15.2 (1308)
13 years or more	28.4 (2010)	20.6 (749)	25.2 (813)	24.9 (1276)
<u>B. Income</u>				
\$2,999 or less	11.9 (1885)	7.9 (1461)	16.5 (447)	12.2 (682)
\$3,000 - \$6,499	13.3 (3510)	6.0 (2813)	18.7 (1201)	12.7 (775)
\$6,500 or more	23.8 (2952)	13.7 (1067)	22.9 (1130)	20.4 (614)
<u>C. Occupation</u>				
Lower	8.9 (2482)	6.2 (2047)	13.8 (833)	9.3 (747)
Lower Middle	13.8 (2148)	4.5 (1769)	18.7 (732)	12.3 (659)
Middle	19.2 (1930)	12.3 (1083)	16.9 (525)	16.1 (558)
Upper	26.2 (2865)	15.1 (1417)	22.7 (1075)	21.3 (768)
Farmers	13.0 (1305)	2.6 (609)	14.1 (191)	8.9 (391)
<u>D. Age</u>				
29 or less	18.7 (1938)	7.5 (1482)	26.9 (614)	17.7 (644)
30 - 49	16.2 (4775)	9.1 (3148)	15.6 (1763)	13.6 (1596)
50 or more	17.0 (4060)	8.2 (2099)	18.5 (1054)	17.9 (3213)

Table 2.10 (continued)

Opinion of Respondents Who Consider the
Ethnic Problem as the Most Serious One, by Ethnic Group
(When Asked About Individual Problems)

	E.C.	F.C.	CAHITIANS	OTHERS
<u>By Residence</u>				
Village	19.5 (2567)	4.2 (1492)	14.8 (438)	7.7 (1007)
Urban area	14.7 (3752)	6.4 (2145)	16.4 (1111)	2.1 (1007)
Metropolitan area	17.0 (4771)	11.4 (3207)	18.9 (1916)	1.0 (1007)
<u>By Region</u>				
Maritimes	7.6 (1603)	3.9 (440)	9.2 (260)	1.0 (1007)
Quebec	22.1 (759)	8.5 (5518)	21.9 (415)	1.0 (1007)
Ontario	15.4 (4743)	6.9 (794)	18.8 (1170)	1.0 (1007)
Prairies and B.C.	21.1 (4001)	16.6 (278)	17.5 (1233)	1.0 (1007)
<u>By Ethnic Identification</u>				
None	19.3 (6488)	10.2 (3725)	20.4 (1223)	1.0 (1007)
Some or much	13.0 (4551)	6.2 (3230)	14.3 (1215)	1.0 (1007)

Here also the non-French in Quebec, the ethnic problems will appear more serious than to people living elsewhere in the country. We have already noted however that on the whole the proportion of people who think that ethnic problems are very serious is lower: these problems are related to their individual life than when it comes to national life.

We have seen in Part I that almost 40% of the respondents think that French Canadians give too much importance to the problem of the relations between French and English Canadians. We also found that only 18% of French Canadians think this. None of the factors mentioned in Part II have an effect on this set of attitudes. It seems that being a French Canadian accounts for all the variation in these attitudes. Within ethnic groups there is no significant variation due to socio-economic factors or to age. In Quebec, French Canadians are a little less likely to say that the French Canadians give too much, having had contacts with French Canadians probably has some effect. Proximity to and knowledge of French Canadians had no influence on the perception of English speaking people but it is not really small.

One gets a slightly different picture by looking at the opinion of people on the attitude of English Canadians with respect to the ethnic problem. Irrespective of their ethnic group the more educated people are, the less are they likely to say that English Canadians give too much importance to ethnic relations. The less educated people are of the opinion that English speaking people give too much. (1)

Politicians are perceived differently depending on their ethnicity and according to who evaluates their behaviour. Respondent English Canadians would like French Canadian politicians to give less importance to the French-English problem; and the French and French Canadians would prefer that English Canadian politicians

(1) The same relationship holds with income and occupational status as measures of socio-economic status.

Living in Quebec also affects one's opinion on how much politicians should worry. Both the French and English in Quebec think that French Canadian politicians should worry more than people living in the West of the country. The two groups however are divided on the role of the English Canadian politician: the English speaking in Quebec when compared to the other English speaking think that the English politicians give too much importance to the ethnic question.

2.4 The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

In Part I, we found out that 70% of the respondents say that they have heard of or read about the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. We consider here those who did not hear of the Commission or were aware of the existence of the Commission.

More educated people are more informed than people with lower formal schooling: while almost half of the less educated people are aware of the relevance of the Royal Commission, almost 80% of the more educated know about it.

Age does not make any difference among English Canadians while middle-aged French Canadians are a little more likely to hear about the Commission. We find the same pattern among "Quebecers". Among the other Canadians, on the other hand, the younger are a little more aware of the Commission than their elders, but generational differences in awareness are small compared to the educational differences.

The Commission does not seem to attract special attention on the part of people living either in rural or in urban areas. But we find that the attention of non-French Canadians living in Quebec is more attracted to the Commission than the non-French Canadians living in other provinces. On the other hand the French Canadians of

Table 2.41

Proportion of Canadians Who Are Aware of the Existence
of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHER %
<u>A. Education</u>				
0 - 7 years	51.7 (1367)	55.8 (2817)	60.7 (463)	40.4 (204)
8 - 12 years	71.8 (7540)	69.6 (3433)	72.6 (2138)	65.5 (1005)
13 years or more	88.4 (2028)	87.1 (749)	87.4 (809)	90.7 (315)
<u>B. Income</u>				
\$2,999 or less	63.4 (1875)	57.6 (1463)	64.8 (438)	38.3 (144)
\$3,000 - \$6,499	71.2 (3532)	65.8 (2809)	75.7 (1190)	61.2 (733)
\$6,500 or more	80.6 (2981)	74.4 (1058)	82.6 (1139)	85.8 (406)
<u>C. Occupation</u>				
Lower	61.3 (2484)	59.2 (2055)	56.2 (853)	56.1 (473)
Lower Middle	70.4 (2148)	64.3 (1769)	73.4 (734)	63.6 (305)
Middle	77.3 (1932)	69.2 (1088)	80.3 (523)	65.8 (149)
Upper	83.9 (3034)	77.6 (1411)	87.2 (1074)	83.1 (311)
Farmers	65.2 (1297)	65.7 (598)	75.7 (173)	30.6 (111)
<u>D. Age</u>				
29 or less	69.2 (1956)	64.2 (1482)	69.5 (596)	41.1 (151)
30 - 49	72.1 (4786)	71.4 (3443)	78.1 (1765)	61.1 (1000)
50 or more	73.8 (4062)	60.7 (2099)	72.7 (1043)	51.7 (207)

Table 2.11 (continued)

Proportion of Canadians Who Are Aware of the Existence
of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
By Region				
Village	73.7 (2558)	62.6 (1491)	71.5 (438)	56.1 (1048)
Urban	72.4 (3754)	67.0 (2139)	70.7 (1111)	66.2 (1008)
Metropolitan area	71.7 (4809)	66.7 (3387)	76.7 (1687)	65.5 (1077)
By Province				
Maritimes	68.1 (1601)	65.5 (440)	65.8 (260)	58.7 (174)
Quebec	78.2 (763)	65.7 (5518)	75.3 (413)	51.6 (1000)
Ontario	68.6 (4765)	66.9 (794)	72.1 (1561)	60.7 (1719)
Prairies and B.C.	77.7 (4010)	68.3 (271)	78.4 (1220)	66.9 (728)
G. Have contacts with E.C.				
Yes	—	69.6 (5251)	75.5 (3171)	66.4 (1550)
No	—	55.1 (1772)	32.3 (283)	60.6 (156)
H. Have contacts with F.C.				
Yes	77.6 (8411)	—	78.3 (2124)	69.5 (1712)
No	56.5 (2728)	—	50.9 (137)	51.9 (120)
I. Have contacts with other				
Yes	75.2 (9314)	70.2 (3582)	77.2 (3031)	61.1 (1500)
No	58.4 (1825)	61.5 (3341)	52.7 (423)	51.0 (100)
J. Economic deprivation				
No deprivation	75.9 (6526)	70.0 (3724)	79.5 (2210)	60.9 (1000)
Some or much	67.4 (4552)	60.9 (3222)	63.9 (1220)	51.0 (1000)

English have not heard of or read about the Commission more than the French speaking people of the other provinces. An English Canadian living in Quebec is a little more likely to be aware of the Commission. For a French Canadian, living in or outside of Quebec does not make any difference.

On the whole people who have ethnic contacts are more aware of the existence of the Commission than those who have no contacts. Both French and English Canadians who have contacts with the other group are more aware of the Commission.

SUMMARY

At the beginning of this chapter, we raised a number of questions: we now list in summary form some of the answers which were given to these questions.

1. Is the ethnic problem considered important?
 - a. 17.7% of the respondents say that the ethnic problem is the major one that Canada faces. The proportion of people concerned with this problem is approximately the same for each ethnic group.
 - b. On the other hand, the lack of understanding between English and French Canadians is considered to be the most serious problem by 28.8% of the sample, when it is mentioned explicitly in a response.
 - c. The difficulties between French and English Canadians are considered the most serious problem by 14.6% of all Canadians who reported about their personal problems. Only 3.7% of the French Canadians consider this problem their most serious personal problem.

2. a) English and French Canadians give too much concern about the ethnic problem?

b) Do French Canadians worry too much?

47.7% of English Canadians are of the opinion that French Canadians worry too much about ethnic problems, while only 24.3% of French Canadians hold this opinion.

Also 17.1% of English Canadians think that the French worry more about ethnic issues while 30.7% of French Canadians think this.

c) Do English Canadians worry enough?

An average of 18.4% of all Canadians agree that the English Canadians do not worry enough about ethnic problems and 20% of the respondents would like to see English Canadians worry more about the ethnic problem.

d) The opinions concerning the worries of politicians follow the same pattern as in a) and b) above.

3. Are people aware of the existence of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism?

An average of 70.6% of Canadians are aware of the existence of the Commission whatever their ethnic origin.

Other features besides ethnic affiliation have been found to influence people's attitude and behaviour vis-à-vis ethnic relations. Some of them were found to have some importance: Region, age, sex, education and income.

The Quebec French Canadians in Quebec worry more about ethnic relations than other English Canadians. But this, incidentally, does not affect the reaction of French Canadians.

b. The English Canadians who live in Quebec and the French Canadians who live outside of Quebec are more likely to perceive the ethnic problem as the most serious problem that the country faces.

c. The English Canadians living in Quebec are more aware of the existence of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism than Canadians who live elsewhere in the country. Residence has no effect on French Canadians' awareness of the Commission.

3. Education, Income, Occupation

The effect of education, income and occupation have been looked at with respect to major worries: more educated people, as well as people with higher income and people placed in the top of the occupational hierarchy are more likely to worry about the problems that exist between the two major ethnic groups of this country than other people. They are also more likely to be aware of the existence of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND BENEFITS

To a large extent, Canadian society is organized along ethnic lines. This means that the basic social relationships — ~~ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and regional~~ comparisons, etc. — are largely ethnic in character. A quasi-constant debate going on in the mass media and among politicians and intellectuals has to do with the distribution of political and economic power between the English and the French. Who dominates a given institution? Which group has more access to the good jobs? And conversely, which group is at a disadvantage? Which group has a smaller share of the resources of the country?

In the present study, a sample of the Canadian public was asked about its perception of various facets of ethnic stratification in Canada. It was asked about its perception of:

1. the distribution of access to occupational opportunities;
2. the distribution of benefits from government decisions and services;
3. the quality of consumer services across ethnic lines;
4. the relative contribution of the "cultural" institutions of each of the two main ethnic groups.

Once we have described the ways in which our sample perceives the situation of fact, we shall examine the way the respondents think the situation should be. Situations of fact are always somewhat mixed because of this, people are not likely to agree in their perception of reality. But, when it gets to values, it is even more difficult to tell whether there will be consensus or dissensus. There may be an ideal

that is so strong that no other point of view succeeds in gaining ground -- then we have quite a bit of consensus. On the other hand, there may be structural features in a society that generate dissensus and ambivalence in the population: some people adopt one point of view, others adopt another, still others are ambivalent. They don't know which one to choose.

In Canadian society, there are such features of the social structure contributing to generate differences in values as to how the social order should be organized. First, as we have mentioned above, Canadian society is organized along ethnic lines. This means that some people on each side have vested interests in such a social order in the sense that their social and economic positions would be very different if the ethnic order were to change significantly. And, as is well known, interests have a lot of influence on values. In second, Canada is also a modern industrial democratic society, and as such it shares the belief that the various political and social positions should be occupied on the basis of ability, resources, and performance. On the one hand, there is the belief that the qualities of the individuals should be respected irrespective of race, religion, or nationality; on the other, there is the fact that many of the positions to which individuals aspire are located within institutions that are primarily English, or French, or Ukrainian, or Italian, etc.

This dilemma which Hyndal⁽¹⁾ described as the American dilemma in regards to the race problem can also be said to be the dilemma of all democratic societies with distinct racial or ethnic communities and institutions.

Given these features of Canadian society, it is difficult to have any confidence in guessing which view on ethnic stratification

(1) Hyndal, In American Dilemma, New York: Random House, Inc., Publishers, 1944.

is the most prevalent in the country and across ethnic groups. Whether could anyone tell how the Canadian public feels about the ways in which the socio-ethnic order should be shaped.

The following three chapters consist in a description of the perceptions and attitudes of our sample in regards to ethnic stratification in the fields of government, services and culture respectively. The present one is concerned with stratification in the field of work.

I

It is common place in Canada to hear that the English dominate the economic world. It is possible that most Canadians think that, but what do they perceive? Do they perceive their careers as being contingent upon the ethnic group to which they belong -- for good or for bad? Or do they think that everybody has an equal access to the jobs? The first question to be raised, then, is whether people perceive an ethnic group as dominating the labour market, and if so, which one?

The second is: Do people approve of the situation of fact as they perceive it? Here we really have two sub-questions. First, what stand do people take in front of the dilemma of an ethnic or non-ethnic organization of the socio-economic order? And second, do they think that the existing ethnic order is acceptable?

In this country, the question of occupational careers cannot be looked at without considering the language issue. Is knowledge of English considered essential in order to have an access to jobs equal to that of the English? Is English considered an

...qualifications for best jobs? Should French Canadians and immigrants be treated alike in relation to the English language? Should members of all ethnic categories be treated alike with respect to knowledge of French?

3.1 Access to the Best Jobs

On the first point, a straightforward question was raised:

"In general, who has the most chances of getting the best jobs in Canada: the English Canadians, the French Canadians, or Canadians of another group?"

The distribution of responses to this question by ethnic categories is presented in Table 3.1. As can be seen, the results are partly what one would have expected and partly not. (1) It was to be expected that the French would think of the English as having more chances of getting the best jobs (60%) that the English would be more likely to think that all have equal chances (36%).

The perceptions of the two minorities, French and "Other", are fairly different. Neither see itself as having more chances for the best jobs (4% and 2.8% respectively). While the French see both the English and the "Others" as having more chances (70% of the French seeing these two groups), the "Others" see the English, not particularly the French as being in a favorable position (34% of the "Others" seeing these two groups). We also find that 44% of the others think they all have equal chances while only 12% of the French think so. Neither minority thinks of itself as having more chances for the best jobs but while the French have a strong tendency to think that others groups have better chances, the "Others" have a moderate tendency to think that all have equal chances.

(1) The tables presented in this chapter are all partial tables. For the complete detailed tables, see the appropriate section in the second volume of the report.

Table 3.1

Ethnic Group Perceived as Having More Chances of Getting the Best Jobs

Group perceived as having more chances:	E.C. %	F.C. %	OTHERS %
English	33.2	59.8	32.6
French	1.8	4.0	1.5
Others	10.3	10.6	2.8
All have equal chances	34.8	12.5	44.1
It depends	12.7	8.1	11.3
No answer	7.2	5.0	6.9
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)

CF
TABLE
3.4
P54

These differences in perception may be due to differences in the reality of the situation itself or they may be due to differing aspirations and expectations on the part of each group. As we shall see, there is evidence for both possibilities.

First, looking at the responses of the English, we find that they agree with the French on two scores: that the French have the "best jobs" and that the French have better chances of getting the best jobs. Everybody, when, is agreed that the French are not in a position of advantage with respect to the best jobs. Also, the perceptions of English as of French think "Others" hold a disadvantageous position (10.3% and 10.6% respectively). The consensus amongst these ethnic groups on the chances of the French would tend to support the idea that the perceptions of the French and the "Others" are different because reality is different for these two groups.

But, what is the value of this consensus as to the chances of the French Canadians? Perhaps it can be evaluated by looking at whether the perceptions of the respondents are similar

which group was based on personal experience or on hearing. Table 5.2 presents the distribution of responses to the following question:

Do you personally know of cases where these people had more chances of getting the best jobs, or have you only heard of such cases? (5)

Table 5.2

Personal Acquaintance with Cases of Members of an Ethnic Group Having More Chances of Getting the Best Jobs*

	E.C. %	F.O. %	Overall %
Know cases personally	25.7	43.5	35.5
Has only heard of such cases	59.2	54.5	49.3
No answer	15.1	2.0	15.2
	(5126)	(5294)	(663)

* This question was asked only to those who had mentioned a group as having more chances of getting the best jobs.

The findings of this table make it difficult to accept the idea that the differences in perception are completely due to differences in the reality situation. Indeed the French are more likely to have had personal experience in this respect, but the difference with the "Others" is not very large (18% — at least not as large as the findings of the previous table would have led us to expect. With slightly different experiences, the French and the "Others" perceive the situation very differently. There must be something more involved, perhaps something related to their respective experiences and self-images. Unfortunately we cannot pursue such complex questions in the limits of this report.

(5) This question was asked only to those who mentioned an ethnic group as having more chances of getting the best jobs.

Before turning to another question, however, let us look briefly at the responses of the English: it is the only group that sees itself as in a better situation than the other groups in regard to jobs. (Table 3.1). In fact, it is surprising that as many as 55% declare that they have more chances of getting the best jobs than other groups have. This feeling on the part of the English Canadians could be quite important as a potential for social change. It depends, of course, on whether these people consider the position of advantage of their group as legitimate or not. We will now turn to this question.

IDEAS OF ETHNIC CANADIANS

Let us first look at the respondent's ideas about ethnic occupational competition in general and then turn to his ideas about the legitimacy of the situation of fact as he perceives it. Do people conceive that it is in the "natural order of things" that ethnic alignments should structure the competition for scarce resources, such as good jobs? Also do people think that ethnic alignments based in the nature of things, there is no point in trying to avoid them; that, on the contrary, ethnic groups should deliberately attempt to manipulate the socio-economic order so as to gain as much as possible for its members.

Of course, it is not possible to examine thoroughly a respondent's ideas about what should be the role of ethnicity in the socio-economic order by means of a single question in an interview. The responses obtained may not be fair to the individual of each respondent; the overall results, however, can be quite useful in finding what is the general feeling of the public on this question.

Two questions were asked in connection with the position

Do you think that it is natural for an individual to give preference to people of his own ethnic group when he hires or promotes?

Do you think that members of each ethnic group should try to get the best jobs for themselves as much as they can?

Ethnic allegiances are considered natural in the allocation of jobs by a majority of the respondents. 51.6% think that it is natural for an employer to favour members of his own ethnic group. If we include with them those who agree with some reservations, that is, who say "It depends", we include a very large proportion of the sample (84.4%). However, this belief is shared by a majority in all three ethnic categories. The variations between the groups are not very large, although differences do exist. A difference that is perhaps surprising is that it is the English/Germans who are the most likely to think that the allocation of jobs along ethnic lines is natural (Table 3.3). It would be worthwhile to investigate this phenomenon more deeply: it seems that for some people, this question is related to the phenomenon of "belongingness", to a sense of loyalty to one's group, while for others it is part of an ideology used to legitimize their situation in the socio-economic structure. The explanation of these questions however has to be left to other studies.

Table 3.3

Attitudes Towards Ethnic Competition

	R.G. %	S.G. %	Others %	Total %
A. "It is natural for an employer to give preference to people of his own ethnic group when he hires employees":				
Agree	70.1	60.3	65.3	65.5
Disagree	27.1	37.6	32.0	30.4
Don't know	2.8	2.1	2.7	2.6
	(11241)	(7035)	(1684)	(29960)
B. "Members of each ethnic group should try to get for themselves as many of the best jobs as possible and let other groups take care of themselves":				
Agree	21.5	16.9	18.4	18.7
Disagree	11.4	12.8	11.3	11.8
Don't know	61.1	64.2	64.6	62.5
	6.0	6.1	5.7	5.9
	(11159)	(7054)	(1684)	(25907)

it involves a conscious manipulation of the economic structure to further the interests of one's ethnic group. The respondent is asked whether or not the alignments in the struggle for promotions and other occupational rewards should be, in part at least, ethnic alignments. In view of the tone of this question, we should expect that a majority would agree with this statement than with the previous one. Indeed, we find about 20% of the sample who think that members of ethnic groups should try to get the best jobs and let other groups take care of themselves. If we include those who give a qualified "yes", we obtain a proportion close to 1/3 of the sample.

Is 20% high or low? Considering the character of question we would say that 20% is quite high. Also, considering the ideology of smooth interethnic relations that many social and political leaders adhere to, we would again say that 20% is quite high. On the other hand, compared to the 62.7% who do not think so, 20% is perhaps quite low.

It is important to note that we observe only small differences between the main ethnic groups. The ethnic groups are equally willing to compete harshly with one another. Moreover, we find mostly small differences when comparing respondents living in different parts of the country, or in cities as opposed to villages. Demographic characteristics like different ethnic composition, education, occupation, income, economic deprivation, and age do not seem to make much difference either -- at least, no consistent pattern of variations in the proportion holding these attitudes.

3.3 Attitudes Towards the Perceived Position of Various Ethnic Groups

We have seen which ethnic groups were perceived as having access to the best jobs. Now, do people approve of this socio-economic order? (Given the findings on attitudes towards ethnic competition, in general, we can expect to find that some people will approve of socio-economic inequalities along ethnic lines. Indeed, there are a little over 14% of those who perceive an ethnic group as having better chances who approve of the favoured position of that group.

In Table 3.4, it can be seen that this approval may concern either their own group or another group; of course, the approval is more frequent when it is their own group than when it is another that is seen as having better access to the good jobs.

Perhaps, the most striking result of Table 3.4 is that the French Canadians will approve of the fact that they have more chances for the best jobs much more frequently than the English Canadians will approve of their own position of advantage. The comparison with 20%. French Canadians are very realistic, as we have seen, to see themselves as having better job opportunities — but when they do see this, they are very likely to think that is not the situation should be. English Canadians, on the other hand, are more likely to see themselves in a position of advantage, and the majority of those who say this, disapprove of the situation.

As far as disapproving the better situation of the other group, however, French and English Canadians are not different from each other. They both are strongly inclined to disapprove. It is the English disapprove of the French having more chances, and 60% of the French disapprove of this situation when they see the English as

Table 3.4

Approval and Disapproval of the Favoured Position that
Dominant Groups are Perceived as Occupying with Respect to Jobs

Who has most chance for best jobs:	E.C.			F.C.			Others		
	E.C. %	F.C. %	Others %	E.C. %	F.C. %	Others %	E.C. %	F.C. %	Others %
Should have more chances:									
Yes	20.2	7.9	5.2	8.0	76.2	3.8	23.6	—	—
No	65.3	87.0	86.4	87.0	22.4	90.5	70.7	100.0	100.0
Depends	14.5	5.1	8.4	5.0	1.4	5.7	5.7	—	—
	(4602)	(215)	(1378)	(4243)	(277)	(739)	(627)	(22)	(82)

II

3.1 Do Perceive the English Canadians as Having Access to the Best Jobs?

In the first part of this chapter, we examined the differences in perception among the major ethnic categories in the sample. We found that the English were those who were the most likely to be found as having access to the best jobs, and this by English Canadians themselves as well as by French Canadians and members of "Other" groups.

But who are these English, French and "Others" who see the English as dominant in the field of jobs? Are their perceptions different if they live in different environments or if they are in different socio-economic situations?

First, what is the perception likely to be if we compare those who live in an area that is primarily ⁽¹⁾ French, primarily English or in another group. Looking at Table 3.5, we can see that:

(1) Defined in terms of relative numbers.

4. French Canadians are more likely to perceive the English as having more access to the best jobs than they have to French Canadian jobs. If they live in Quebec or in electoral districts where the French Canadians are numerically dominant.

5. English are more likely to perceive English Canadians as themselves as having access to the best jobs both in areas where the French are dominant and where the English Canadians are predominant. This is in Quebec and Ontario, or in electoral districts where either the French or the English are dominant.

Second, it is among the respondents who are wealthier, more educated, and have better jobs that the English are most likely to be perceived as having more chances for the best jobs. Among the English, this was to be expected: It would have been surprising if the more low education and low income English Canadians would not have a high proportion perceiving the English as having access to the best jobs.

Among the French, however, the results are a little surprising. The more the French are better off, the more they are likely to find that the English have more access to the best jobs (See Table 3.5, C, D, E). In a way we would have expected that the better off would be less likely to think that other groups have more. Presumably, however, and I am not sure, a French Canadian who is aware of certain differences between himself and English Canadians.

Finally, we find that the perception of the situation of the English with respect to jobs varies directly with age with wealthier in a small town as opposed to a city, with age of the respondent and the other group's language, and with the feeling of economic superiority. However, we find variations with those variables mostly among the English respondents and relatively little among the French. The French respondents are more likely than the English respondents to

perceive the English as having more access to the best jobs. But young French Canadians do not differ from old French Canadians in their perceptions of job opportunities. The same holds for the other variables mentioned above (residence, knowledge of the other group's language and feeling of deprivation).

Table 3.2

Percent Who Think that English Canadians Have
More Chances of Getting the Best Jobs

	50+	18-49
A. <u>Age</u>		
18-49	33.9	33.9
50+	33.9	33.9
B. <u>Ethnic composition of electoral district</u>		
Predominantly English	33.9	33.9
Predominantly French	33.9	33.9
Predominantly "Other"	33.9	33.9
No group predominates	33.9	33.9
C. <u>Income</u>		
Less than \$3,000/yr	33.9	33.9
\$3,000 — \$6,499	33.9	33.9
\$6,500 or more	33.9	33.9
D. <u>Education</u>		
0 - 7 years	33.9	33.9
8 - 12 years	33.9	33.9
13 +	33.9	33.9
E. <u>Occupation</u>		
Upper	33.9	33.9
Middle	33.9	33.9
Lower Middle	33.9	33.9
Lower	33.9	33.9

French Canadians, then appear quite homogeneous in their perceptions of access to jobs. This suggests that the perceptions of French Canadians are to a fair extent determined not by differences in experience, but by a set of traditional definitions transmitted from generation to generation. But this is only partly the case. There is at least one set of factors that differentiates French Canadians in their perceptions of the distribution of job opportunities. This set of factors has to do with the attributes of power; numerical dominance, income, occupational status, and education. The more a French Canadian possesses these attributes, the more he sees the English as having more chances for the best jobs. This is probably due to the fact that aspirations increase with the gains in wealth and power and that such increased aspirations are conducive to unfavorable comparisons across ethnic lines.

The perceptions of the respondents of our sample on this issue were assessed by means of the following question:

"Some people say that a French Canadian who is qualified in his work has less chances than others of getting promoted if he does not speak English. How much truth do you think there is in what these people say: a great deal of truth, a little truth or no truth at all?"

Another question was also asked, identical with the above except for the word "immigrant" being substituted for "French Canadian". The distributions of responses to these questions are presented in summary form in Table 3.6.

When the language question is considered, we begin to have a slightly better idea of what is involved in the previously described perceptions. A little over 2/3 of the respondents (66%)

feel that a qualified French Canadian has less chances for promotion if he does not speak English. A similar proportion of the respondents (71.9%) feel the same way about the chances of the qualified immigrant who can't speak English.

There is a set of responses that is worthwhile discussing about the perceptions of the qualified French Canadian and the qualified immigrant in the hypothetical case presented to the respondents; as can note that the agreement among the English, the French, and the "Others" is much greater in the perception of the chances of the immigrant than it is in the perception of the chances of the French Canadian. Indeed, in the case of the hypothetical immigrant, the largest difference we obtain in comparing the percentages is 5.6% (Table 3.6, part B); in the case of the hypothetical French Canadian, the largest difference is 28.2% (Table 3.6, part A). French Canadian respondents agree with the other respondents when immigrants are concerned; but they do not when it is themselves who are involved.

Again here, we can raise a question similar to the one raised when discussing the first table about access to the best jobs. Do the French Canadians feel sorer for themselves than one would ordinarily expect? Again we find that reality does not give a clear, unambiguous answer. For instance, if we compare the French perception of their own chances with the chances of the hypothetical immigrant, what do we observe? In other words, if we tell the French Canadian respondents something like this: take an immigrant and a French Canadian in the same situation; both are qualified, and both do not speak English; what are their chances for promotions? 14.1% more French Canadians will say that the French have less chances than those who say that the immigrant has less chances. Also, according to the "Others" are frequently immigrants or first-generation Canadians. Let us ask the same question to this "Other" respondents. We find the same pattern: 13.3% more "Others" say that the immigrant has less

also less than those who say that the French Canadian has less. It would seem that the two minorities feel equally sorry for themselves. They both overestimate their difficulties, at least in comparison with the perceptions of the other minority group.

Table 3.6

Perception of the Chances for Promotions of the Qualified
French Canadian and Immigrant Ignorant of English

	English	French	Other	Total
A. Qualified French Canadian has less chances	57.2	85.4	63.0	66.7
It depends	13.7	3.2	10.2	10.2
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(23416)
B. Qualified Immigrant has less chances	70.7	71.3	76.3	71.0
It depends	5.7	5.5	4.4	5.5
	(11170)	(7045)	(1693)	(23408)

Another set of responses concerns those who say "it depends" and tell a somewhat different story. (See again Table 3.6). In the case of the hypothetical immigrant, roughly the same proportion say "it depends" among the English, French and "Other" respondents. But, this is not so in the case of hypothetical French Canadian. 14% of the English say "it depends" and 10% of the "Others", while only 3% of the French say so. There is a similar set of percentages for the response "No truth at all": no differences between the categories in the case of the hypothetical immigrant and the same pattern of differences in the case of the hypothetical French Canadian.

We again find two sets of standards used by some people, but here, in contrast to what was found in the previous table, it is the English and the "Others" who are the most likely to use two sets of standards: 20.6% of the English and 35.6% of the "Others" think that when the majority is English, the non-English speaking should learn it, but do not think the equivalent when the majority is French.

CHAPTER III

In this chapter, we have looked into some of the perceptions and attitudes of the respondents concerning the distribution of advantages and disadvantages in regards to jobs. The following propositions can summarize the main findings:

1. French Canadians are very likely to perceive the English and the "Others" as having more chances for the best jobs; they are significantly more likely to perceive this than the English and the Others.
2. The members of the various ethnic groups are about equally likely to say that they have known personally cases where members of the group they mentioned had more chances for the best jobs. French Canadians were slightly more likely to have known such cases; still the majority had only heard of such cases.
3. Both English and French Canadian respondents who perceived their own group as having more chances for the best jobs were more likely to think that this should be so than those who perceived another group as being in a favorable position; but this is more true for the French Canadian than for the English Canadian.
4. The majority of the respondents think that it is natural for an employer to give preference to people of his own ethnic group when he hires employees. English Canadians are the most likely to think so; French and "Other" Canadians are about equally likely to think so.

CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE AND THE SOCIAL ADVANTAGES WHICH SOME GROUPS IN SOCIETY POSSESS

The political influence and the social advantages which some groups in society possess may not coincide with what people think they should have. This poses the question of the legitimacy of the political and social arrangements which are thought to exist in a given society. A group may be thought to have more influence than another on the decisions which affect the lives of all, but this is felt to be its privilege. The same group may be seen as having better opportunities than other people have, and this also may be thought to be an advantage which it rightfully deserves. But it could be otherwise. People may feel that it is not right for some people to have more than others. When this occurs we say that people consider the legitimacy of the arrangements which they find exist between groups.

Attention in this chapter is concentrated on the opinions of people in Canada concerning the relative influence which English, French and Other Canadians have on the decisions of the federal and the provincial governments and the opportunities which these groups have compared to one another as clients and employees of the federal government. We are concerned, as well, with the judgments which people make concerning the desirability of what they perceive to be the relative political influence and the social opportunities which English, French and Other Canadians possess.

The chapter is divided in two parts. We will first examine the opinions of English Canadians, French Canadians and Canadians of other ethnic groups concerning their relative political influence and social advantages. Our purpose is to determine whether English Canadian, French Canadian and Canadians of other ethnic groups hold different

or similar views on these questions. In the second part of the chapter we will turn to the judgments which people make concerning what they perceive to be ethnic differences in political and social advantages. We will examine whether these judgments differ from one ethnic group to the other and within ethnic groups depending on the social characteristics of people who belong to these ethnic groups.

Perceptions of Ethnic Differences

4.1 THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH, FRENCH AND OTHER CANADIANS ON THE DECISIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Do people perceive English, French and Other Canadians to have the same amount of influence on the decisions of the federal government? Which ethnic group, if any, is perceived to be more influential than others? Which people feel this more strongly than others?

Table 4.1 shows that, in all, 38.0% of the respondents think that the opinions of English Canadians, French Canadians and Canadians of other ethnic groups count equally when the federal government takes decisions that affect the whole country. We observe, in addition, that the proportion of French Canadians who think that the opinions of all count equally is noticeably smaller than are the proportions of respondents of other ethnic groups.

32.9% of the respondents think that the opinion of English Canadians counts more than the opinions of other people and 8.1% think that the opinion of French Canadians counts more.⁽¹⁾ The proportion of people of each ethnic group who think that the opinion of English Canadians counts more at the federal level of decision-making is much larger than is the proportion of people who think that the opinion

(1) We have omitted to present the percentages for "Others". Very few respondents think that "Others" are more influential or have advantages than have English or French.

of French Canadians counts more. This is not a surprise. English Canadians are more numerous than are French Canadians: one would expect, given the greater number of English Canadians that people would be more prone to feel that their opinion counts more. This, however, does not explain why French Canadians are more prone than are other people to think that it is so.

We have just seen that French Canadians are more prone than are other groups to think that English Canadians have more influence than have other ethnic groups on the decisions of the federal government. Table 4.1 shows also that French Canadians are less prone to perceive themselves as having more influence than are other people to think that they have. In other words, French Canadians tend to give more importance than are other people to think that they have, but they give less importance than others do to their own influence.

Table 4.1

Perception of the Relative Influence of Ethnic Groups at the Federal Level of Decision-Making

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS			OTHERS
			E. %	F. %	Others %	
The opinion of no group counts more	43.3	24.3	46.4	40.7	43.0	45.1
The opinion of English Canadians counts more	26.3	48.8	26.5	33.0	19.0	24.0
The opinion of French Canadians counts more	31.1	24.4	27.1	26.3	38.0	30.9
	(11170)	(7054)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(11170)

The fact that French Canadians are more prone than are other people to think that the opinions of English Canadians count more on the decisions of the federal government than does the opinion of other ethnic groups raises an interesting question: Are French Canadians more prone than are other people to feel that the federal government takes less care of the interests of Quebec than it does of the interests of other provinces? If the federal government listened more to the opinion of English Canadians than it does to the opinions of French Canadians, the odds are that it will neglect Quebec. Indeed, as Table 4.2 shows, French Canadians (and Canadians of French language) are a great deal more prone than are other people to think that the federal government takes less care of the interests of Quebec than it does of the interests of other provinces.

Table 4.2

Percent Who Feel that the Federal Government
Takes Less Care of the Interests of Quebec

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS			OTHERS %
			E. %	F. %	Others %	
The federal government takes less care of the interests of Quebec	6.2	34.6	3.3	30.8	7.1	4.6
	(11161)	(7054)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(1684)

The Relative Influence of English, French and Other Ethnic Groups on the Decisions of Provincial Governments

Do people feel that the opinions of a particular ethnic group count more than the opinions of other groups when the government of their province takes decisions that affect the whole province? Which ethnic group, if any, is perceived to be more influential than others? Which people are most likely to think this?

Perception of the Relative Influence of Various
Groups on the Provincial Level of Government

The opinion of no group counts more	46.8	29.4	55.1	39.6	58.8	46.8	
The opinion of English Canadians counts more	51.3	18.1	26.2	8.6	23.3	25.1	46
The opinion of French Canadians counts more	6.1	30.5	5.5	26.4	8.4	8.1	11
	(11170)	(7054)	(3032)	(187)	(237)	(169)	(23)

42.4% of people in Canada feel that the opinions of English, French and "Others" count equally when their provincial government takes decisions. 26.0% of respondents think that the opinion of English Canadians counts more; 13.7% of respondents think that the opinion of French Canadians counts more. As a whole, English-speaking Canadians are less prone than are other respondents to think that the opinion of all counts equally.

Finally, Table 4.3 shows that French-speaking Canadians are less prone than are respondents of other groups to think that the opinions of English Canadians count more when the government of their province takes decisions. In turn, French-speaking Canadians are more prone than are other respondents to think that the opinion of the French counts more. 50.5% of French Canadians think that their opinions count more when their provincial government takes decisions.

...ed to 6.1% of English and 8.1% of "Others". (1)

Opinion of the Respondents on Whether They are
Treated by the Employees of the Federal Government

Do people think that the way they are treated by the employees of the federal government depends on whether they are English, French or Canadians of other ethnic groups? Or do they think that everyone is equally well treated? Which ethnic group, if any, is thought to be better treated? Does it affect what the respondents think to be identified as English Canadian, French Canadian, Canadians or Other Canadians?

47.7% of the respondents feel that English, French and Canadians of other ethnic groups are equally well treated by the employees of the federal government. This percentage would be lower, however, had it not been for the fact that a relatively small percentage of French Canadians think that all ethnic groups are equally well treated. Table 4.4 shows that French Canadians are much less prone than are people of other ethnic groups to think that English, French and "Others" are equally well treated by the employees of the federal government.

We observe also that the respondents are more prone to think that English Canadians are better treated than they are to think that French Canadians are better treated. 22.5% of all respondents think

(1) This large percentage is mainly accounted for by the fact that French Canadians who live in Quebec tend to feel that their opinion counts more than the opinions of other people. The majority of French Canadians living outside of Quebec think that their opinion counts more than the opinions of other people, but their provincial governments take a different view, as the following table indicates, than they do in Quebec.

	French Canadians			
	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Atlantic
	%	%	%	%
The opinion of French Canadians counts more	7 (350)	47 (4860)	2 (663)	2 (266)

that English Canadians are better treated while 4.2% think that French Canadians are better treated. Finally, Table 4.4 shows that French Canadians (and Canadians of French language) are much more prone than are other respondents to think that English Canadians are better treated by the employees of the federal government. French Canadians are also less prone to feel that they are better treated than other people to think that they are.

Table 4.4

Perception of the Relative Treatment of
Ethnic Groups by Employees of the Federal Government

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS			OTHERS %
			E. %	F. %	Others %	
All are equally well treated	52.2	28.6	58.1	46.2	62.5	51.3
English Canadians are better treated	12.8	44.7	12.1	37.4	10.1	7.1
French Canadians are better treated	5.3	2.3	5.1	0.0	5.5	4.1
	(11170)	(7054)	(3082)	(192)	(297)	(4077)

Respondents who thought that English or French or Canadian or of other ethnic groups are better treated by the employees of the federal government were asked if they personally knew of cases of persons who had been better treated or if they had just heard of such cases. The answers indicate whether the opinions which people have and which are here just presented are based on their own experience rather than on hearsay. Table 4.5 shows that generally speaking people tend to say that their opinions depend on what they have heard more than on what they have personally experienced. It is worth noticing, however, that French Canadians (and Canadians of French language) are more prone than other people to say that they personally know of cases where people are better treated. But we do not find large percentage of French Canadian groups.

Table 4.5

Ethnicity and Having Heard or Suspected of Cases Whose People Have Been Better Treated

	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>E. %</i>	<i>F. %</i>	<i>Other %</i>	<i>N</i>
Has heard of such cases	43.4	44.7	34.5	28.6	38.0	5
Knows of such cases*	11.7	25.0	24.0	45.7	22.0	5
	(2188)	(3464)	(562)	(70)	(49)	

* The rest of other people have answered that they have heard of and know of cases, that they suspect it is like they say or that they did not know. See Marginals, Ethnic Relations Survey, Question 1-42.

1.4 Perception of the Relative Job Opportunities of English, French and Other Canadians as Employees of the Federal Government

Do people think that all Canadians have equal chances of getting the best jobs with the federal government? Or do they think that some Canadians have more chances than others? Are the perceptions of these chances different when made by English Canadians, French Canadians, Canadians or Canadians of some other group?

Table 4.6 shows that 35.7% of the respondents think that English, French and Canadians of other ethnic groups have equal chances of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government. French Canadians are much less prone than are other people to feel that way.

30.1% of the respondents think that English Canadians have better chances than other people have while 3.7% think that French Canadians have better chances of getting the best jobs with the federal government. French Canadians are much more prone than are other respondents to feel that English Canadians have more chances than have other people of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government. This belief is strongly held among French Canadians.

Table 4.6

Perception of the Relative Opportunities
of Ethnic Groups as Employees of the Federal Government

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS			
			E.	F.	Others	
All have equal chances	43.0	17.7	46.0	33.2	44.2	43.1
English Canadians have more chances	26.9	62.4	26.4	43.6	23.2	38.4
French Canadians have more chances	4.6	2.5	3.9	0.0	4.6	2.3
	(11170)	(7054)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(1605)

The respondents were asked if they thought that English and French Canadians have more chances than other Canadians of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government. 22.2% of the respondents think that English and French have no better chances than other Canadians. Table 4.7 shows that French Canadians are more prone than other groups to think that English Canadians and French Canadians have more chances than Canadians of other ethnic groups of getting the best jobs in the federal government.

Table 4.7

Ethnicity and Perception of English and French
Canadians as Having Better Job Opportunities Than Other Groups

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS			
	%	%	%	%	%	
English and French have more chances than other of getting the best jobs	53.7	65.7	48.7	51.6	43.1	
	(11168)	(7048)	(3082)	(182)	(1605)	

II

ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE DESIRABILITY OF ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

There are people who feel that English Canadians, French Canadians and Canadians of other ethnic groups do not have the same amount of influence in federal and provincial politics, that they are not equally well treated by employees of the federal government and that they do not have the same chances of getting the best jobs in the federal government bureaucracy. More than others, English Canadians are perceived to rank above others on the political influence they have at the federal level and in the opportunities they have as clients and employees of the federal government. French Canadians are especially prone to feel that English Canadians possess greater political and social advantages. On the issue of the influence which ethnic groups have in provincial politics, however, the perceptions which French Canadians have of ethnic differences is much different than what it is on other issues. At the level of provincial decision-making French Canadians are more prone to perceive themselves in power than they are to perceive English Canadians. French Canadians (those who live in Quebec) are less prone to feel that they occupy a position of subordination vis-à-vis English Canadians in provincial politics than in Canadian politics. Their awareness of controlling the political process is greater when it comes to what goes on in their province than when what is at issue is what goes on at Canada as a whole.

We now turn to a different question: namely the reactions of the judgments which people make concerning what they perceive to be the differences that exist among ethnic groups in political and social opportunities. In which way do people react to what they feel are the differences that exist among English, French and Chinese Canadians? Do they consider that these differences are legitimate and, if so, what they should exist? Or do they resent these differences and consider that they should not exist? What people react most strongly to ethnic differences? Do people object to

strongly to what they feel are the greater advantages of their own group as they do object to what they feel are the greater advantages of other people? Does the way people react to what they perceive to be the greater political influence and social opportunities of their own and other ethnic groups depend on whether they are well educated or not, on whether they belong to the older generation or not, or whether they are placed vis-à-vis other people in a majority or in a minority position? We now turn to these questions.

2.1 The Legitimacy of Ethnic Differences in Political Influence

A. Ethnic Differences in Federal Politics

The influence of English Canadians in Canadian politics raises a good deal of controversy. Some people argue that, being the numerical majority, English Canadians should have more political influence than other ethnic groups. French Canadians are most vocal in objecting to this view. Especially vocal are French Canadians living in Quebec.⁽¹⁾ Of those people who feel that English Canadians have more influence than other people, who are the ones most likely to object to this? Does the education they have affect the way people react to what they feel is the greater political influence of English Canadians?

Table 4.8 shows that the French Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more influence than other people on the decisions of the federal government object to this influence strongly and more so than do English Canadians and Other Canadians. This is true whether we compare people with less than 13 years of schooling or people with 13 years of schooling or more. Interestingly we observe that among French Canadians who think that the English have more

(1) Chapter 7 contains evidence of this. Disapproval of English Canadian political influence in Canada is strongest among French Canadians in Quebec.

political influence than others on the decisions of the federal government, those with less than 13 years of schooling are more strongly than do those with 13 years of schooling or more. (1) Among "Others" the more educated object more to the political influence of English Canadians than do the less educated. Among English Canadians, education makes no difference.

Table 4.8
Ethnicity, Education and the Legitimacy
of English Canadian Influence at the Federal Level

Number of years of schooling:	English Canadian -13 13+		Others -13 13+		Total	N
	%	%	%	%		
The opinion of English Canadians should not count more than the opinion of other people	42.6	41.3	90.2	77.2	59.4	1000
	(1683)	(1980)	(2532)	(942)	(2245)	

We have just seen that the French Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more influence on the decisions of the federal government oppose this more strongly than do English and Other Canadians. Table 4.9 shows that English Canadians who feel that French Canadians have more influence are more prone to think that it should not be this way than are the French Canadians themselves. We observe, in addition, that French Canadians with 13 years of schooling or more are more prone than are those with less than 13

- (1) This finding should be read with other findings in Chapter 4 regarding the relationship between degree of schooling and disapproval of English Canadian influence in the political affairs of Canada.



Table 4.10 shows that, among the English and French Canadians who feel that they both have more political influence than the rest of Canadians, English Canadians, whatever their education, are less likely than are French Canadians to feel that it should be this way. We also observe that among English Canadians who feel that they and the French have more political influence than other people, those with less than 13 years of schooling are more prone than those with 13 years or more to feel that this is right. Among French Canadians we observe just the opposite: the less educated French Canadians who feel that their own group and the English Canadians have more influence on the decisions of the federal government than have Canadians who are neither English nor French are less prone to feel that this is right than are more educated French Canadians. Finally, it may be worth noticing that more educated English Canadians who are aware of the greater influence of English and French in Canada, are much less likely than are the more educated French Canadians to feel that this is a legitimate

Table 4.10

Ethnicity, Education and the Legitimacy of the
Combined Greater Political Influence of English
and French Canadians at the Federal Level

Ethnicity: ^a Number of years of schooling:	E.C.		F.C.	
	<13 %	13+ %	<13 %	13+ %
The opinion of English Canadians and French Canadians should count more than the opinion of other people	56.8	43.1	61.1	70.2
	(229)	(327)	(185)	(67)

* Other Canadians were excluded due to the too small number of respondents reporting that the opinion of English and French Canadians counts more than the opinion of other people.





consider that this is desirable. Older English Canadians approve of English power in Canada more than do the younger generations.⁽¹⁾ We find the same trend among Other Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more political influence than other people have: older people are more prone to feel that this is a desirable state of affairs than are the younger generations. Finally, it is interesting to notice that the reactions of French Canadians to what they feel is the greater political influence of English Canadians at the federal level is independent of the age they have. Whether young or old the bulk of French Canadians who feel that the English have more political influence than other people have think that it should not be this way.

We find that the English Canadians who feel that the French Canadians have more influence than other people on the decision of the federal government resent it very strongly. Whether young or old, but somewhat more so if older, English Canadians feel that French Canadians should not have more influence than other people on the decisions of the federal government. Table 4.12 shows that French Canadians are much less prone to feel this way and the less the older they are.

Table 4.12
Ethnicity, Age and the Legitimacy of French
Canadian Influence at the Federal Level

Ethnicity:*	E.C.		F.C.	
	Less than 50	50 or older	Less than 50	50 or older
The opinion of French Canadian should not count more than the opinion of other people	85.0 (880)	93.7 (639)	31.3 (160)	46.7 (111)

* Other Canadians were excluded due to the too small number of respondents reporting that the opinion of French Canadians counts more than the opinion of other people.



We have shown that French Canadians dispute more frequently than other people the legitimacy of English Canadian power in Canada. Which French Canadians resent most frequently the position of subordination which they feel they occupy vis-à-vis English Canadians at the level of national politics? French Canadians who live in Quebec or French Canadians who live elsewhere than in Quebec? Table 4.13 shows that French Canadians who live in Quebec if they feel that English Canadian opinion counts more than the opinion of other people resent it more than do French Canadian living outside Quebec.

Table 4.13

Reaction of French Canadians Living in an Outside of Quebec to English Canadian Influence on the Federal Government

	Living Outside Quebec	Live In Quebec
The opinion of English Canadian should not count more than the opinion of other people	70.5 (482)	89.5 (2994)

Reaction of Influence Arrangements at the Provincial Level

The issue of the influence which they should have on the provincial government is more important for French Canadians than in the issue of the influence they should have on the federal government. This could be due largely to the lesser degree

- (1) This finding corroborates other findings concerning the reaction of French Canadians living in and outside of Quebec to attempts of English Canadians to gain political power in Canada which are discussed in chapter 7. It is worth mentioning that the other Canadians who live in Quebec tend to resent more than do those living elsewhere what they feel as the greater political influence of English Canadians:

	Others who live outside of Quebec	Others who live in Quebec
The opinion of English Canadians should not count more	55.6 (347)	81.4



French English and French have of competing for power at the provincial level compared to what they feel is the competition that exists at the federal level. It is worth recalling in this regard that the proportion of French Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more influence than they have on their provincial governments is significantly smaller than is the proportion of French Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more power than they have on the Government of Canada.⁽¹⁾ When French Canadians think of the influence which ethnic groups have on the federal government, their feelings of being second is much greater than when they think of the influence which ethnic groups have on the governments of their provinces. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that English Canadians and French Canadians are willing to be ruled by one another in the provinces where they live. Table 4.14 shows that French Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more influence than have other people on the government of their provinces oppose it strongly. Less educated French Canadians oppose it more strongly than do more educated French Canadians. Other Canadians who feel that English Canadians have more influence than they have oppose it more strongly than do English Canadians. Less educated other Canadians oppose English Canadian influence more than the more educated

Table 4.14

Ethnicity, Education and the Legitimacy of
English Canadian Influence at the Provincial Level

Number of years of schooling:	English		French		Other	
	<13	13+	<13	13+	<13	13+
The opinion of English Canadians should not count more than the opinion of other people (1877)	35.7	39.7	83.8	79.0	24.2	43.8
	(1877)	(2252)	(946)	(371)	(149)	(101)

(1) The proportions are respectively 18.1% and 43.8%. There is a significant difference as well among English Canadians. 43.8% of English Canadians feel French Canadians have more influence than they have at the federal level, while 6.1% feel this way with respect to the decisions taken by their provincial governments.



Table 4.16

Reaction of English Canadians and French
Canadians to Each Other Political Influence

Ethnicity:	E.C.		F.C.	
	-13	13+	-13	13+
Number of years of schooling:				
Feel that the opinion of the other should not count more	74.1 (421)	48.2 (388)	83.8 (916)	70.9 (371)

Are English Canadians who live in Quebec more willing than those who live elsewhere to accept the dominant position which French Canadians occupy in provincial politics? What is the reaction of French Canadians to English power? Are French Canadians who live outside of Quebec more willing than are those who live in Quebec to accept what they feel is the greater influence which English Canadians have on their provincial governments? In other words does the fact that they occupy a numerically dominant position (French Canadians in Quebec and English Canadians outside of Quebec) or a minority position (French Canadians outside of Quebec and English Canadians in Quebec) affect the way people react to what they feel is the political power which other people possess?

Table 4.17 shows that English Canadians who live in Quebec, if they feel that French Canadians have more influence than they have on decisions of their provincial government, accept this more willingly than do English Canadians who live outside Quebec.

Table 4.17

Reaction to the Political Influence of French
Canadians on Provincial Governments among English Canadians
Who Live In and Outside of Quebec

	E.C.	
	Live Outside of Quebec	Live in Quebec
The opinion of French Canadians should not count more than the opinion of other people	89.4 (338)	45.4 (492)

The reactions of French Canadians to the influence of English Canadians depend as well on whether they live outside or in Quebec. Table 4.18 shows that French Canadians who live outside of Quebec accept more willingly than do French Canadians in Quebec the greater influence of English Canadians in provincial politics.¹

- (1) Due to the small number of cases we cannot say much concerning regional variations in the reactions of other Canadians to the political influence of English and French Canadians. As the following table indicates Other Canadians who live in Quebec if they feel that French Canadians' opinion counts more than their own opinion when the provincial government takes decisions, are more willing to accept this than if they live outside of Quebec:

	OTHER CANADIANS	
	Live Outside of Quebec %	Live in Quebec %
The opinion of French Canadians should not count more	69.0 (29)	47.6 (126)



Table 4.18

Reaction to the Political Influence of the
 Government on Provincial Governments among French Canadian
 Who Live In and Outside of Quebec

	F.C.	
	Live Outside of Quebec	Live in Quebec
The opinion of English Canadians should not count more than the opinion of other people	71.1 (40?)	87.4 (890)

2.2 Legitimacy of Ethnic Differences in Treatment and Job Opportunities

We have seen that there are people in Canada who feel that either as clients of the federal government or as employees of the federal government English, French and Other Canadians do not have the same advantages. Do these people feel that they should or do they feel that it is desirable that the treatment which people get from civil servants and their chances as employees of the federal government depend on whether they are English, French or Canadian of other ethnic groups?

Table 4.19 shows that people who feel that English Canadians are better treated than others by the employees of the federal government tend to object to it fairly strongly. This is true whichever ethnic group we consider and truer of French Canadians than of English Canadians and Other Canadians but not much more so. Their level of schooling makes little if any difference on the way English and French Canadians react to what they feel is the better treatment given to English Canadians. Among Other Canadians the better educated people tend more strongly than the others that English Canadians should not be better treated than they are by the employees of the federal government.

- (1) Because of the small number of people who feel that English and Other Canadians are better treated by the employees of the federal government we do not discuss in this part of the report the way English, French and Others react to the perceived better treatment of these two groups.

among those Canadians with less than 15 years of schooling, 91.7% of those in French have better chance than they have of getting the best jobs with the federal government 91.7% feel that they should not have a better chance. 89.8% of French Canadians with 15 years of schooling or more express the same views. Among other Canadians the percentages are respectively 77.4% and 56.7%. Among English Canadians 67.0% among English Canadians.

Table 10

Ethnicity, Education and the Legitimacy of the Better Treatment Which Is Held to Be Given to English Canadians

Ethnicity:	E.C.		F.C.		Total
	<15	15+	<15	15+	Total
Number of years of schooling:					
English Canadians should not be better treated than other people	82.3	87.6	92.4	91.8	89.8
	(725)	(1045)	(2366)	(885)	(4161)

We have just seen how the respondents react to the question of the legitimacy of the treatment received by ethnic groups. Table 4.20 shows how they react to what they feel are the best jobs. The majority of English Canadians as employers of the federal government.

Table 11

Ethnicity, Education and the Legitimacy of Differences in Opportunities of Getting the Best Jobs from the Federal Government

Ethnicity:	E.C.		F.C.		Total
	<15	15+	<15	15+	Total
Number of years of schooling:					
English Canadians should not be better treated than other people	64.5	67.0	92.4	91.8	89.8
	(1705)	(2010)	(2366)	(885)	(4161)

English Canadians who feel that they are better treated than others of getting the best jobs with the federal government tend to object less strongly to it than do French and Other Canadians.

We have seen that older English Canadians are more likely than are younger ones to feel that their opinion should count more than the opinion of other people on the decision of the federal government. Are they more likely to feel that they should be treated better by the employees of the federal government and that they should have better chances of getting the best jobs in the federal government bureaucracy? Does the reaction of French Canadians to such a question tend to be the greater opportunities of English Canadians depend on their age?

Table 4.21 shows that the bulk of French Canadians do not feel that the English Canadians are better treated than are other people by the employees of the federal government and have better chances of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government object to it. Age makes no difference. It does make a difference however among English Canadians and Other Canadians. English Canadians aged 50 and over who feel that they are better treated than other people as employees of the federal government and have better chances of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government are less likely to feel that it should not be so than are English Canadians aged less than 50 years. The reactions of Other Canadians are not

Older Canadians aged less than 50 are more prone than are those aged 50 or more to feel that English Canadians should not be better treated than other people but they are less prone to feel that English Canadians should not have better chances than other people of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government.

Table 4.21

**Ethnicity, Age and the Legitimacy of Differences
in Service and Job Opportunities**

Ethnicity:	E.C.		F.C.		OTHERS	
Age:	<50 %	50+ %	<50 %	50+ %	<50 %	50+ %
English Canadians should not be better treated than are other people by the employees of the federal government	88.6 (1348)	72.4 (377)	82.8 (2096)	92.3 (984)	70.1 (210)	71.1 (100)
English Canadians should not have better chances than other people of getting the best jobs	65.3 (2584)	60.4 (1058)	90.7 (2956)	92.3 (1383)	63.5 (400)	63.5 (100)

While we have shown that French Canadians object strongly to what they feel are the greater social advantages which English Canadians have, we now find that they object much less strongly to what they feel is their greater social advantages as clients and employees of the federal government. On the other hand, English Canadians no matter their age object strongly to French Canadians getting better treatment than other people do and having better chances than other people of getting the best jobs.

Does it make any difference as to the way people react to what they feel are the greater job opportunities of English Canadians whether they live in Quebec or outside of Quebec? In other words, is the way English Canadians react to what they feel is their greater advantage vis-à-vis other people depend on whether they live in Quebec where they are a numerical minority or outside of Quebec where their position is one of majority? Does the reaction of French Canadians to what they feel are the greater opportunities of English Canadians depend on whether they live in Quebec or not.

Table 4.24 shows that English Canadians who live in Quebec are more likely than are those who live outside of Quebec to question the legitimacy of the better chances which they feel they have as employees of the federal government. French Canadians who live in Quebec are also more prone to feel that English should not have better chances of getting the best jobs. We observe the same trend among Other Canadians. Finally, we see that whether they live in Quebec or not French Canadians tend to object more strongly than other people to the English having better job opportunities. French Canadians living outside Quebec feel that English Canadians should not have better job opportunities.

Table 4.24

Ethnicity, Region and the Legitimacy of
Differences in Job Opportunities

Ethnicity: Region:	E.C.		F.C.		Other Canadians
	Outside Quebec	In Quebec	Outside Quebec	In Quebec	
	%	%	%	%	%
English Canadians should not have better chances than other people of getting the best job with the Federal government	66.6 (3463)	76.1 (277)	80.9 (706)	93.5 (2705)	66.6 (1000)

We find that living in Quebec or outside Quebec has little, if any, effect on the way English Canadians feel about having, with French Canadians, more opportunities of getting the best jobs in the federal government. It does, however affect the reactions of French Canadians and Other Canadians. French Canadians who live in Quebec are more strongly opposed than are those who live outside of Quebec to having, with the English, more job opportunities than have Other Canadians. Other Canadians who live in Quebec are more prone than are those who live outside Quebec to accept having lesser job opportunities as employees of the federal government than have English and French Canadians.

Table 4.25

**Ethnicity, Region and the Legitimacy
of Differences in Job Opportunities**

Region:	English		French		Other	
	Outside Quebec %	In Quebec %	Outside Quebec %	In Quebec %	Outside Quebec %	In Quebec %
English and French Canadians should not have better chances than other people of getting the best jobs as employees of the federal government	46.3 (3617)	47.8 (410)	26.8 (560)	43.8 (2154)	57.5 (368)	

Table 4.25

We have looked at the opinions which respondents have regarding the distribution of political influence and opportunities among ethnic groups in the governmental sector. The main findings are as follows:

1. English Canadians are more likely than are French Canadians and "Others" to be perceived as having more political and social advantages. Whether we consider the influence which ethnic groups

more on the decisions of the federal government. The way in which members are treated by the employees of the federal government and their chances of advancement as employees of the federal government, respondents are more likely to perceive the English in a position of relative advantage than to perceive the French or the "Others".

2. ~~French Canadians who have little or no political influence at the federal level are more likely to think that English Canadians have more political influence and are better off than they are at the provincial level than they are to think that English Canadians have more political influence at the provincial level than they are to think that English Canadians have.~~
3. French Canadians who think that English Canadians have more political influence than others at the federal level or at the provincial level object to this much more strongly than do English Canadians themselves. This is true irrespective of the age and the education of respondents. We have found, however, that French Canadians who live in Quebec object more strongly to English Canadian power at the federal level than do French Canadians living elsewhere.
4. ~~Canadians who are neither English nor French who think that English Canadians have more political influence than others at the federal level or at the provincial level object to this much more strongly than do the French.~~
5. English Canadians who think that French Canadians have more political influence than other people at the federal level object to this much more strongly than do the French themselves. We have found that both English and French who perceive themselves as in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the other group object strongly to the present state of affairs.



6. English Canadians who live in Quebec are less strongly opposed to what they feel is the greater influence of French Canadians in provincial politics than are English Canadians who live outside of Quebec and feel that French Canadians dominate provincial politics. Interestingly we have found that French Canadians who live outside of Quebec accept more readily the greater influence of English Canadians in provincial politics than do French Canadians in Quebec.
7. French Canadians who think that English and French have more influence than others in the decisions of the federal government are more likely to feel that this is legitimate than are English Canadians who think that English and French have more influence than other people have.

8. Among the respondents who think that English Canadians are better treated by the employees of the federal government and have more chances as employees of the federal government than have other people, French Canadians are those who object to it most strongly. Education and age do not make for important differences among French Canadians: whether young or old, well or poorly educated, French Canadians object strongly to what they feel are the greater social advantages of English Canadians. It is worth noticing that among English Canadians the younger and well educated are object more strongly than the older and less educated to their having more opportunities as clients and employees of the federal government. Also, younger English Canadians are more likely than older English Canadians to question the legitimacy of their having more influence than other people on the decisions of the federal government.

Living in Quebec affects the judgments of respondents of all groups in the same direction: English Canadians who live in Quebec are more likely than are those living elsewhere to object to their having more opportunities as clients and employees of the federal government. French Canadians in Quebec and "Others" in Quebec are more likely than are those living elsewhere to question the legitimacy of what they perceive to be the greater advantages that English Canadians enjoy as clients and employees of the federal government.

What each concludes depends upon more than facility in communication. It depends as well on the visible status characteristics of both the buyer and the seller. If no status characteristics impinge on the awareness of either buyer or seller, then presumably their transactions can be devoted solely to the purpose of the transaction itself. But the transaction can be interfered with if there is awareness of status on either side; and any indication that throws especially the buyer's influence vis-à-vis the seller into question may lead the buyer to question the adequacy of the service he is receiving. There are many possible kinds of such indications that can occur. A buyer may feel that the seller has some characteristics superior to his own and infer from this that he is not having the influence he expects to have. A seller may view the buyer as inferior in some way and act toward the buyer in a superior manner, or he may feel inferior to the buyer and act humbly. There is no necessary consistent relationship between feeling and acting. The point is that the buyer may either feel that he has a position of influence inferior to that of the seller, or either one may act as if that is so.

Insofar as languages are ranked in the minds of buyer and seller, language can be more than a means of communication. It can assume power implications, as a technique for controlling other people and so can become, for the speaker, a visible status characteristic. If for example the buyer speaks a language which in his mind, or the seller's, or both, is ranked lower than that the seller speaks, it can raise questions about the legitimacy of the buyer's right to superior influence over the seller. Accent can be another visible distinguishing characteristic even though both buyer and seller speak the same language. Ethnicity, insofar as the buyer or seller know or think they know what it is or can infer it from language or accent can also play an important part in the relationship since, all ethnic groups do not enjoy the same social rank either in their own minds or in the minds of others.

We are concerned, in this chapter, with a few of these issues. We shall begin by looking at the awareness people have of having contact with members of ethnic groups in stores and restaurants. The one clearly visible characteristic with which we will be concerned is language. We shall limit ourselves to situations in which buyers report that sellers spoke to them in a language which was not the buyer's principal language, and we will look at some reactions of buyers to this situation. Finally we shall consider the rights respondents think people ought to have to speak and be spoken to in their own language, and the rights they are willing to grant French speaking people to be spoken to in French.

1.1 Contacts in Stores and Restaurants

Asking respondents whether they have contact with members of different ethnic groups in stores and restaurants provides a gross indication of how aware they are of the ethnicity of persons with whom they ordinarily have relatively brief and impersonal contact, in a situation in which one would expect such a particular characteristic as ethnicity not to be an important consideration. Yet language can be defined as so visible a sign of ethnic membership that persons may indeed be highly aware of it. They may of course be aware of the ethnic membership of the other person for a variety of other reasons but our concern will be with the effect of language. Table 5.1 provides some gross evidence which shows the proportions of respondents claiming English, French, Canadian and Other ethnic memberships who have all kinds of contacts in stores and restaurants and who are spoken to in these places in a language other than their own main language. As can be seen, English Canadian respondents are less apt to have contacts with persons of other ethnic membership in stores or restaurants than are respondents belonging to other ethnic groups, despite the fact that as high a proportion share contacts with other ethnics as do the remainder of the respondents.

Table 5.1

Percentage of Restaurant* Dining Contacts by Language of Birth* Country

in General and in Stores or Restaurants, by Ethnicity

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS*			OTHERS
			English	French	Others	
<u>All contacts</u>						
with French	76 (11153)	--	78 (3082)	100 (176)	84 (237)	69 (1685)
with English	--	76 (7019)	92 (4587)	100 (2725)	99 (182)	96 (233)
with Others	84 (11161)	52 (7042)	90 (3082)	73 (182)	93 (237)	89 (1693)
<u>Contacts in stores or restaurants</u>						
with French	40 (6431)	--	34 (2371)	89 (406)	51 (407)	45 (445)
with English	--	63 (5218)	85 (2705)	90 (176)	91 (829)	97 (1354)
with Others	50 (9329)	42 (3612)	70 (2744)	63 (138)	65 (200)	63 (1490)
Spoken to in a language other than main language	44 (1111)	76 (1004)	50 (1360)	88 (110)	74 (110)	65 (110)

* Restaurant was chosen only when only restaurant in building or only restaurant in building was indicated.
 * Restaurant was chosen only when only restaurant in building or only restaurant in building was indicated.
 * Restaurant was chosen only when only restaurant in building or only restaurant in building was indicated.

2000

Then their team language

We suggested before that a buyer who is spoken to by seller in a language other than his own is placed at a disadvantage in exercising the influence in the relationship that he can expect he has a right to exercise. If, as well, he ranks the language the seller uses differently from his own language he may be disturbed in the relationship even though he has some understanding of the language the seller is using. The problem is to what extent is he bothered and how does he define the situation? We are able to gain some understanding of this problem with two questions which respondents were asked:

Does it bother you to speak another language than your own in order to get served if you understand this (the language the seller uses) language?

Do you feel that the service you get is poorer than it is when you speak your own language?

The proportions of respondents who are bothered by having to speak a language not their own and their estimate of the service they receive are shown in Table 5.3 for each ethnic group. As can be seen the French Canadians are most frequently bothered by being spoken to in another language. Whereas a very small proportion of respondents of "Other" ethnic groups are so bothered. Perhaps, the most interesting finding is that despite the fact that the French Canadians are more bothered than the English Canadians they are not more apt than the English to view the service they receive as poorer to any significant degree. In fact, when we hold the degree of "bothered" constant (Table 5.4) we find that, with the exception of "Canadians" those people who are most bothered by having to speak another language are the ones who view the service they receive as poor regardless of their ethnicity.

Table 5.3

Estimate of Feelings and Services Received in Stores
or Restaurants Where Another Language is Spoken, by Ethnicity
(In Percentages)

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS*			OTHER
	%	%	English %	French %	Other %	%
In bothered:						
very much, quite a bit	18	37	9	6	4	9
a little, depends	43 (5005)	16 (5335)	9 (1546)	11 (160)	6 (161)	3 (1126)
Service is poorer	28 (5023)	36 (5323)	19 (1546)	22 (160)	9 (161)	10 (1126)

* See Footnote to Table 5.1.

Table 5.4

Proportion of Respondents Who Are Bothered by Being Spoken to
in Stores or Restaurants in a Language Other than Their Own and
Who Feel that the Service is Consequently poorer, by Ethnicity

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
Bothered very much or quite a bit, and service is poorer	48 (764)	54 (1931)	27 (139)	49 (160)
Bothered a little and service is poorer	23 (383)	29 (768)	27 (132)	41 (69)

1.3 Perception of Rights to be Served in Own Language in Stores and Restaurants

That English and French Canadian respondents think that they should be served in stores and restaurants in their own language can be seen in Table 5.3. At the same time, neither the English nor "Others" ethnic group members think the French Canadians are right in wanting to be served in French in so large a proportion. We may ask whether respondents show any consistency in their answers to these two questions. Are the feelings about the right to be served in one's own language related in any way to one's attitude toward the demands of French Canadians? The answer, see Table 5.6 shows is a partial no. All other groups but the French Canadians, think that these latter are not right in wanting to be served in French, whether or not they feel they should themselves be served in their own language. Between a quarter and a third of each group feel the French Canadians are right in wanting to be served in French in Quebec, but this still means that less than half of these respondents agree with the claim even qualifiedly. The French Canadians of course, agree with the claim, although unlike the others there is a relationship between the two responses. They are less apt to agree with the rightness of the claim of the French Canadians if they feel they themselves should not be served in their own language. For the French especially but to some extent for all other respondents as well, we suspect that the presence of the words French or English in a question leads many respondents to define the situation as a political one involving a power balance between the French and the English Canadians, and they respond in a way that appears to be traditional in Canada with the French taking one side and all others taking an opposing position. Perhaps the most revealing feature of these data is that the consensus among the French group is not complete.

Table 5.5

Percentage of Respondents who Think Service in Stores and Restaurants should be Provided in the Principal Language of the Buyer

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS*			OTHER
	% (n)	% (n)	English % (n)	French % (n)	Other % (n)	
Should be served in own language	66 (11152)	77 (7054)	62 (3073)	47 (182)	12 (237)	5 (160)
French Canadians are right to want to be served in French	40 (11152)	80 (7054)	11 (3073)	59 (182)	28 (237)	
French Canadians are right to want to be served in French but only in Quebec	32 (11170)	8 (7054)	30 (3082)	12 (182)	25 (237)	27 (160)

* Respondents who said they were only Canadian or belonged to no particular ethnic group are divided by principal language into English speaking, French speaking, or speaking both languages or some other language.

Table 5.6

Percentage of Respondents who Accept the French Claim to be Spoken to in French in Stores and Restaurants by Those Who Claim and do not Claim Such a Right for Themselves

	E.C.		F.C.		CANADIANS		OTHER
	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
French are right to want to be served in French	11	9	90	40	14	13	
French are right to want to be served in French but only in Quebec	34	27	6	14	28	25	24
	(7290)	(1790)	(5429)	(957)	(2003)	(933)	(625)

That the response to the question about the rightness of the French Canadian claim to be served in French is based on perception of a power balance is supported by some of the evidence in Table 5.7 which shows the relationship between this feeling of "rightness" and the respondents' experiences of being spoken to in stores or restaurants in a language other than their own. It can be seen, the frequency with which the French are spoken to in another language in these places has no relationship to their feeling that the French Canadians are right in asking to be spoken to in the French language. For other respondents there is some relationship such that the more often a person is spoken to in another language, the more is he unequivocally willing to accept the French claim as a right one. Yet the relationship disappears for these people as well, when the people who accept the claim as right in Quebec are taken into account. Experiences, in other words, appear to be having little effect on these respondents, although it does affect their feelings about what their own rights ought to be. The less frequently a person is spoken to in stores and restaurants in another language, the more he feels he should be spoken to in his own language. This holds true for all ethnic groups.

Table 5.1

With Which They Are Spoken to in Another Language

Characteristics of Respondents

French Canadians are more apt to be spoken to in a language other than their own in stores and restaurants than any of the other groups of respondents. Of all those (French, English and others) who experience this, the proportion was 40 per cent. It is greater for the French than for the others yet more of the French are bothered by this experience and more of them feel they receive poorer service because of it. One might infer from this that the French would be more apt than others to feel they should be spoken to in their own language and more apt to agree that they are right in making such a claim. As we have seen this is in fact so. We may now ask another series of questions: Are the French different in their background characteristics, their living arrangements and their experience than are the rest of the respondents? As before, let us begin with their actual experiences in stores and restaurants. We shall be concerned here with the effect of the contacts which respondents of the four ethnic categories have with other ethnic groups, and with the effects of the economic and educational experience of the respondents.

2.1 Experience in Stores and Restaurants

A. Contact

The experience of respondents in stores and restaurants varies inversely with the extent to which they live in areas where other ethnic groups live. Thus, fewer of the French Canadians are spoken to in a language other than their main language in Quebec than are other respondents, but more of them, than other kinds of respondents are spoken to in another language elsewhere in the country. (Table 5.6) To some extent this is likely related to the fact that persons in the "Other" ethnic category tend predominantly to speak English rather than French if they speak another language, but other evidence also

suggests that the French Canadians particularly those living in Quebec, have strong feelings about the language issue. Many of them are bothered when they are spoken to in another language and some of them think the service in stores and restaurants is poorer than do members of other ethnic groups. Outside of Quebec, the French are not bothered more than the other ethnic groups and do not feel that they get poorer service less frequently than do the English, although, for the West, the differences are not significant.

Do English Canadians ever feel the same way about clerks or waiters speaking another language? To answer this question, electoral districts in the country were classified as French whenever 60% or more of their population declared that French was their "mother tongue" (using the census of Canada definition); a district was classified as English whenever 60% or more of its population declared that English was its mother tongue; mother tongue was also used to distinguish "Other" electoral districts. Respondents were then classified as to whether they lived in dominantly French, English or Other districts. As expected the proportions for the French Canadians in French districts are very similar to those for the French Canadians who live in Quebec although the number of dominantly French districts outside of Quebec is small; consequently one should be careful not to exaggerate the meaningfulness of this finding. As to the English Canadians, they are least apt to hear another language in dominantly English districts, but they are no more bothered by it in these districts than they are in other districts: the kind of district the English live in seems to have little relationship to whether they are bothered when they are spoken to in another language, or to their estimate of the quality of the service they receive. In every region and in every kind of district between a fifth and a quarter consistently estimate the service as poorer when another language is spoken. There is no such consistency among the other ethnic groupings.

Table 5.3

Expenditure of Respondents and Estimate of Services
Received in Hotels and Restaurants by Region of Residence
(In Percentages)

Region:	E.C.				P.C.				CANADIANS				OTHERS			
	Mar. %	Quo. %	Ont. %	West %	Mar. %	Quo. %	Ont. %	West %	Mar. %	Quo. %	Ont. %	West %	Mar. %	Quo. %	Ont. %	West %
Respondent:																
a) is spoken to in a language other than his main language	36	94	49	53	85	74	63	72	63	92	53	40	50	89	69	57
b) is spoken to often in another language	7	64	9	3	59	44	12	46	12	65	16	9	—	74	17	—
	(1603)	(765)	(4765)	(4019)	(438)	(5522)	(794)	(280)	(280)	(413)	(1579)	(1247)	(51)	(256)	(587)	(792)
c) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	26	17	18	22	27	42	16	12	26	9	8	4	—	25	1	8
	(437)	(701)	(2170)	(1135)	(370)	(4076)	(652)	(199)	(145)	(387)	(788)	(495)	(27)	(228)	(407)	(435)
d) thinks the service received is poorer	24	21	22	24	20	33	8	9	8	10	17	6	33	26	3	13
	(476)	(690)	(2058)	(1140)	(368)	(4050)	(634)	(191)	(154)	(375)	(739)	(426)	(27)	(210)	(416)	(415)

Experience of Respondents and Benefits of Service Received

In French and German only by 85% of the total number of respondents (in Percentages)

Table 1

Respondent group	English		Other		French		German		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
a) is spoken to in a language other than his own language	31	88	42	42	70	74	96	86	46	91
b) is spoken to often in another language	6	66	2	9	41	43	80	66	8	63
c) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
d) thinks he has received less service	23	20	24	22	11	33	7	19	13	10
e) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
f) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
g) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
h) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
i) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
j) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
k) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
l) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
m) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
n) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
o) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
p) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
q) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
r) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
s) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
t) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
u) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
v) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
w) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
x) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
y) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9
z) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	18	23	12	23	17	43	6	17	16	9

We may ask whether, the French and English Canadian experiences, and estimate of that experience are similar under various conditions. The data, presented in Table 5.10, suggest that whether the respondents in the two groups react in similar or different ways depends on whether or not they have contact with one another. By definition, one would expect those with general contact to have contacts in stores and restaurants more often than those without, but for both the French and the English it is those who claim that they have no contact themselves who are most bothered by such contact -- presumably theoretically -- and who anticipate that the service would be poorer.

The relationship between being bothered and contacts is nevertheless not as strong as is the relationship between being bothered and the degree of bilingualism. This relationship is shown in Table 5.11. The number of respondents who declare that they are spoken to in a language other than their own varies directly with the degree of competence they see themselves as having in the other language. The same relationship prevails for respondents' estimate of their experience in speaking a language different from their own. In fact, the English Canadians who speak French with no difficulty and the French Canadians who speak English with no difficulty are bothered in equal proportions. It is the French who speak English with some degree of difficulty or who do not speak it at all who are most bothered by the experience of speaking another language, and they are considerably more bothered than are the English who speak French with some degree of difficulty or who do not speak it at all.

When the English and French Canadian respondents are compared with the non-ethnic Canadians and the "Others" it can be seen that seldom are these latter respondents as frequently bothered by being spoken to in another language in stores or restaurants nor do they regard the service received as poorer in so high a proportion. The issue over the language used by clerks and waiters is an issue for the English and French Canadians rather than for

Experience of Respondents and Estimates of Service Received
in Stores and Restaurants by Contact with Members of Other Ethnic Groups

(in Percentages)

Contacts with:	English as a Second Language		Spanish as a Second Language		Chinese as a Second Language		Other Languages		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
a) is spoken to in a language other than his main language	49 (8424)	23 (2/28)	84 (5251)	51 (1785)	57 (2778)	37 (121)	52 (3207)	61 (292)	67 (1166)	67 (1696)
b) is spoken to often in another language	12 (8424)	5 (2/28)	57 (5251)	21 (1785)	20 (2778)	12 (121)	19 (3207)	11 (292)	38 (1166)	37 (1696)
c) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being spoken to in another language	19 (7004)	25 (381)	30 (1396)	71 (600)	7 (1336)	24 (349)	9 (1000)	6 (190)	10 (1000)	8 (1000)
d) thinks the service received is poorer	21 (3768)	30 (596)			11 (1455)	16 (239)		14 (754)	3 (754)	

EMPLOYERS OF RESTAURANTS AND HOTELS: OF SERVICES PROVIDED
IN STORES AND RESTAURANTS BY DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH
(in Percentages)

Level of ability in speaking other language:	F.O.				P.C.				CANADIANS				OTHERS			
	%	%	%	%	not speak %	speak %	%	%	%	%	%	%	not speak %	speak %	%	%
a) is spoken to in his main language	60	65	55	37	90	83	76	53	70	72	63	42	80	73	53	53
b) is spoken to often in another language	30	21	14	6	64	53	48	21	42	29	10	12	60	52	28	20
c) is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to	13	7	15	27	15	35	47	74	1	1	15	14	5	8	9	9
d) thinks the is poorer	15	14	19	27	16	28	36	48	1	12	15	14	4	12	15	14
	(261)	(575)	(676)	(2535)	(1202)	(1540)	(235)	(339)	(263)	(365)	(288)	(711)	(150)	(261)	(36)	(420)

Source: Survey of the English and French spoken in the 1960s.

other ethnic groups, and it is especially an issue for the French Canadian in Quebec. At the same time it is less an issue for everyone when the respondents speak the other language -- either English or French -- with no difficulty. In this regard the French Canadians appear to have a lower tolerance level when communication in English is difficult than do the English Canadians when dealing in French.

B. Economic Experience

In sociological literature, education, income and occupation are frequently used in combination as an index of a person's socio-economic status. Because we are concerned with the effect of the respondents' economic experience on their attitudes, the separate variables have not been combined into a single status index but are treated separately. As will be noted, the relationship of these factors with the experience of respondents in other languages in stores and restaurants, and their estimate of that experience are much similar and can be stated as: the higher the education, the higher the income or the higher the occupational status the more frequently do respondents' experience clerks or waiters speaking to them in another language but the less bothered by it they are, and the less do they think the service they receive is poorer. These relationships can be seen in Table 5.12.

None of these are strong relationships, and the correlation with occupational status is the weakest of the three. So far as the estimate of the quality of services received in stores and restaurants is concerned the relationship holds up consistently only for education, even though being bothered by being spoken to in another language is related directly with all three factors.

There are three measures available to us of a respondent's estimate of his economic situation and his status. Respondents were asked to estimate their debts and assets; they were asked to estimate

Attitudes of Respondents and Estimate of Services Received
at Stores and Restaurants by Education, Income and Occupation
(In Percentages)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
	%		%		%	
Education						
12 + years	52	10	14	12	75	53
	(2019)		(995)	(914)	(1702)	(1702)
8 - 12 years	43	10	24	12	75	53
	(7555)		(2960)	(1267)	(1702)	(1702)
6 - 7 years	37	11	23	12	75	53
	(1376)		(455)	(291)	(1702)	(1702)
Income						
\$5,500 or more	51	10	15	12	75	53
	(2981)		(1002)	(1253)	(1702)	(1702)
\$3,000 - \$5,499	45	9	21	12	75	53
	(3523)		(1002)	(1253)	(1702)	(1702)
Below \$3,000	35	8	21	12	75	53
	(1895)		(1002)	(1253)	(1702)	(1702)
Occupation						
Professional,	54	11	16	12	75	53
	(3015)		(1529)	(1253)	(1702)	(1702)
Managerial, Sales,	48	12	10	12	75	53
	(1152)		(867)	(1253)	(1702)	(1702)
Skilled,	43	10	20	12	75	48
	(2142)		(840)	(1253)	(1702)	(1702)
Unskilled,	41	12	28	12	73	44
	(2475)		(876)	(1253)	(2042)	(2042)
Unemployed	30	5	17	12	45	20
	(1315)		(327)	(309)	(609)	(1702)

Respondent is spoken to in a language other than main language
 Respondent is spoken to often in another language
 Respondent is bothered very much or quite a bit by being mis-spoken to
 Respondent thinks the service received is poorer

Table 5.12 (continued)

Experiences of Respondents and Estimate of Expenditures Received
in Stores and Restaurants by Education, Income and Occupation
(In Percentages)

	JAMAICANS				CHINESE			
	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %	(d)* %	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %	(d) %
<u>Education</u>								
13 + years	56 (816)	18	3 (424)	8 (395)	65 (275)	25	4 (177)	2 (27)
8 - 12 years	50 (2156)	15	9 (1034)	13 (995)	60 (1004)	33	6 (589)	1 (60)
0 - 7 years	60 (474)	34	18 (297)	13 (284)	79 (381)	53	14 (301)	1 (61)
<u>Income</u>								
\$6,500 or more	58 (1137)	17	6 (618)	18 (589)	62 (264)	27	5 (350)	1 (24)
\$3,000 - \$6,499	52 (1212)	18	5 (614)	7 (577)	73 (735)	50	12 (537)	1 (64)
Under \$3,000	38 (445)	13	12 (159)	16 (148)	60 (425)	31	11 (192)	1 (15)
<u>Occupation</u>								
Professional, Managerial	62 (1092)	22	4 (649)	13 (629)	62 (471)	27	10 (279)	2 (23)
Clerical, Sales, Service	53 (523)	20	8 (265)	11 (250)	49 (199)	47	— (97)	— (3)
Skilled	58 (734)	19	6 (396)	12 (363)	79 (325)	45	3 (281)	1 (7)
Unskilled	44 (833)	14	21 (374)	11 (370)	71 (473)	39	13 (337)	1 (2)
Farmers, Farm laborers	21 (191)	14	28 (39)	— (30)	51 (130)	36	12 (75)	1 (1)

- (a) Respondent is spoken to often in another language
 (b) Respondent is bothered very much or quite a bit by being so spoken to
 (c) Respondent thinks the service received is poor

their present financial situation relative to the past and the future; and they were asked to estimate the relationship of their financial status to their educational status. This was done so as to develop three indices: respectively, a ratio of debts to assets, an index of economic deprivation, and an index of respondents' estimate of the financial rewards they have received relative to their investment in education. The effect of these variables is shown in Table 5.13.

The presence of economic deprivation has no effect on the way in which respondents estimate their experience when they are spoken to in another language. The effect of the other two variables is not strong but it is unusual enough to mention. Respondents who have neither assets nor debts, who, in other words, have no long term financial commitments are more apt to be bothered when they are spoken to in another language than those who have such commitments. Respondents who are concerned about the lack of congruence between their investment in education and the financial rewards they have received are also more apt to be bothered than those who have incongruence but who are not concerned about it. Congruence or lack of it does not, in itself, appear to be having much effect in this area.

3.2 Attitudes Toward the Use of Language in Stores and Restaurants

As we have seen, contact is related more strongly to the experiences respondents have in stores and restaurants and their attitudes of those experiences than are such economic and status factors as education, income and occupation. The same thing can be said for respondents' attitudes toward the use of their own language in such commercial places and toward the use of French. Contact does have a large effect upon whether a respondent thinks he should be served in his own language and, to a somewhat less extent, whether he thinks the French Canadians are right in wanting to be served in French.

Table 5.13

Opinions of Respondents and Latitude of Service Received in Stores and Restaurants by Ratio of Debts to Assets, Sense of Economic Deprivation and Concern with Costs and Rewards
(In Percentages)

Ratio of Debts to Assets										
Assets > debts	44	9	20	24	75	46				
	(4608)		(1828)	(1817)		(2085)				
No assets, no debts	40	11	25	26	76	43				
	(1327)		(487)	(444)		(1750)			(1710)	
Debts > assets	47	11	16	20	80	49				
	(3770)		(1652)	(1563)		(2124)			(1610)	
Latitude of Movement										
Absent	46	13	20	23	82	50				
	(6508)		(2763)	(2650)		(3793)			(1810)	
Present	41	7	20	32	69	31				
	(4581)		(1629)	(1575)		(3232)			(1040)	
Concern with Costs and Rewards										
Costs > rewards	44	9	25	34	84	49				
	(719)		(329)	(318)		(343)			(109)	
Not concerned	49	14	11	13	68	40				
	(861)		(400)	(409)		(644)			(107)	
Rewards > costs	58	10	21	22	74	47				
	(8080)		(3073)	(2961)		(4063)			(1717)	
Rewards > costs	62	15	25	17	94	47				
	(253)		(30)	(130)		(225)			(107)	
Not concerned	49	10	18	27	77	45				
	(1044)		(486)	(473)		(932)			(107)	

- (a) Respondent is spoken to in a language other than his language.
 (b) Respondent is spoken to often in another language.
 (c) Respondent is bothered very much or quite a bit by being spoken to.
 (d) Respondent thinks the service received is poor.

Table 5.12 (continued)

Experience of Respondents and Estimate of Service
Received in Stores and Restaurants by Ratio or Debts to Assets,
Sense of Economic Deprivation and Concern with Costs and Rewards
(In Percentages)

	CANADIANS				WEST INDIANS		
	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %	(d)* %	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %
<u>Ratio of debts to assets</u>							
Assets > debts	51 (1476)	15	2 (766)	13 (724)	61 (641)	29	7 (306)
No assets, no debts	59 (335)	38	12 (205)	3 (195)	66 (213)	42	35 (140)
Debts > assets	20 (1251)	20	6 (699)	10 (688)	71 (662)	42	3 (451)
<u>Sense of Economic Deprivation</u>							
Always	35 (2337)	16	7 (1192)	13 (1174)	71 (1040)	40	10 (761)
Sometimes	50 (1721)	30	27 (977)	19 (1084)	57 (659)	32	7 (177)
<u>Concern with Costs and Rewards</u>							
Costs > rewards concerned	43 (175)	20	25 (114)	— (151)	55 (150)	25	2 (91)
not concerned	54 (232)	30	2 (125)	— (125)	71 (145)	34	3 (61)
Rewards > costs concerned	53 (2528)	18	9 (1277)	10 (1198)	51 (1101)	35	6 (141)
Rewards > costs not concerned	46 (454)	7 (91)	1 (62)	3 (153)	30 (101)	61	1 (61)
not concerned	46 (454)	13 (182)	5 (182)	1 (182)	63 (182)	74	12 (151)

- * (a) Respondent is spoken to in a language other than main language.
 (b) Respondent is spoken to often in another language.
 (c) Respondent is bothered very much or quite a bit by being asked for money.
 (d) Respondent thinks the service received is poorer.

The evidence for this last statement is presented in Table 5.11. The English Canadians living in Quebec are least apt to want to be spoken to in their own language and most apt to think that French Canadians should be spoken to in French. The French Canadians living outside of Quebec are similar to the English Canadians in Quebec: they are less apt to expect to be spoken to in their own language than the Quebec French, but they do not feel they are right to expect such a requirement. At the same time, they are as apt to support the French claim as are the Quebec English; this is considerably more than the non-Quebec English are willing to do, but considerably less than the Quebec French. Certainly the French Canadians throughout Canada do not agree in overwhelming proportion with the French Canadians of Quebec on the justice of this claim. Nor do the Quebec French get much support from either the "Canadians" or the "Others" except from those who live in Quebec itself, and even among these people they get no more than the divided support they get from the Quebec English.

On the issue of the rightness of the French Canadian claim to be served in French, neither contact with the French Canadian nor ability to speak French appear to have much effect in persuading the majority of non-French persons to side with the French. There is a slight tendency for those who speak French without difficulty to be unequivocally on the French side but it is slight and disappears when one also takes into account those respondents who would limit the rightness of the claim to Quebec. Contact with French appears to have no effect at all. One is led to speculate that the position a person takes on the issue has more to do with the power (political or actual) a particular ethnic group has in the area in which the person lives than it has on any social contact or bilingual ability he may have. Thus, "Other" ethnics reject the French claim most frequently in districts where they predominate and accept it most frequently where the French predominate. The French are most unequivocally for the rightness of the claim in districts in which they predominate. The English accept the rightness of the claim most frequently in districts in which the French are predominant, and reject it in other kinds of districts whether or not they predominate.

Table 5.14 (continued)

Percentage of Respondents Who Think They Should Be Served in Their Own Language in Stores and Restaurants, and Who Think the French are Right in Making a Similar Claim by Region of Residence, Ethnicity of Residential District, Contacts, and Degree of Bilingualism.

	CANADIANS			QUEBEC	
	(a)	(b)	(c)*	(a)	(b)
<u>Region of Residence</u>					
Maritimes	62 (45)	26 (258)	16	80 (251)	17 (54)
Quebec	48 (248)	54 (413)	17	35 (401)	56 (243)
Ontario	62 (580)	9 (1570)	34	34 (1577)	7 (571)
West	56 (792)	5 (1247)	29	40 (1238)	5 (77)
<u>Ethnic Composition of Residential District of Residence</u>					
English dominant	67 (1520)	10 (1520)	31	43 (524)	9 (5)
French dominant	52 (327)	51 (335)	16	32 (170)	50 (1)
Other dominant	69 (260)	— (260)	26	23 (155)	()
No dominance	48 (1360)	12 (1373)	31	40 (815)	10 (80)
<u>Contact with</u>					
English - yes	57 (3175)	15 (3196)	29	37 (1569)	15 (1554)
- no	77 (292)	9 (292)	25	69 (96)	23 (55)
French - yes	54 (2746)	15 (2771)	29	44 (1155)	16 (1)
- no	75 (721)	9 (717)	30	27 (510)	7 (48)
<u>Speak other language</u>					
With no difficulty	34 (393)	35 (397)	25	16 (187)	27 (4)
With some difficulty	43 (542)	22 (552)	21	26 (326)	12 (35)
With great difficulty	57 (507)	14 (578)	33	46 (147)	32 (137)
Does not speak it	69 (1956)	7 (1945)	31	53 (842)	6 (82)

- (a) Should be served in own language in stores and restaurants.
 (b) French are right in wanting to be served in stores and restaurants in French.
 (c) French are right in wanting to be served in stores and restaurants in French but only in Quebec.

That this is primarily a political issue is supported further by the evidence presented in Table 5.15, which shows the effect of education, income, occupation and religion on the position respondents adopt. None of these characteristics has too great an effect on the position respondents take, certainly nowhere closer to the effect that ethnicity has.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the majority of people do not like being served in stores and restaurants in a language other than their own. Consistently the French Canadians experience this more frequently than any other group in Canada and more of them are bothered by it and wish it was not so, and could be changed. For a claim to be served in French is not regarded by other people as a legitimate one even within the Province of Quebec. The French Canadians in Quebec get a divided support from other people who live in Quebec and from the French Canadians living outside Quebec, but very little support from other people.

Table 5.15

Percentage of Respondents Who Think They Should Be Served in Their Own Language in Stores and Restaurants, and Who Think the French are Right in Making a Similar Claim, by Education, Income, Occupation and Religion

	English %	French %	Both %	Don't know %	French %	Don't know %
Education						
13+ years	61 (2001)	9	40 (2010)	79 (749)	73 (1111)	2
8-12 years	69 (7470)	10	31 (7507)	73 (3438)	76 (1344)	3
0-7 years	66 (1347)	13	30 (1355)	83 (2808)	96 (2222)	4
\$6,500 or more	64 (2963)	8	35 (2970)	73 (1064)	72 (1063)	2
\$3,000 - \$6,500	66 (3512)	11	31 (3501)	77 (2844)	30 (2075)	1
Under \$3,000	71 (1859)	12	33 (1882)	81 (1452)	89 (1406)	7
Occupation						
Professional, Managerial	61 (3007)	12	37 (3021)	81 (1447)	81 (1344)	1
Elemental, sales, services	68 (1923)	10	33 (1929)	74 (1086)	81 (1082)	2
Skilled	70 (2130)	10	28 (2099)	78 (1775)	77 (1773)	5
Semi-skilled, unskilled	69 (2448)	10	31 (2473)	76 (2043)	84 (1843)	2
Farmer, farm laborer	65 (1277)	9	32 (1306)	81 (594)	84 (217)	1
Religion and Religious						
Frequent church attendance						
Catholic	58 (1498)	13	26 (1503)	80 (6057)	84 (3048)	1
Non-Catholic	68 (2574)	11	31 (2606)	83 (31)	47 (8)	1
Infrequent church attendance						
Catholic	61 (646)	13	27 (637)	86 (735)	85 (117)	1
Non-Catholic	70 (5953)	9	36 (5968)	58 (64)	24 (8)	1

(a) French are right in wanting to be served in stores and restaurants in French

(b) French are right in wanting to be served in stores and restaurants in French, but only in Quebec.

Table 5.15 (continued)

Percentage of Respondents Who Think They Should Be Served in
Their Own Language in Stores and Restaurants, and Who Think
the French are Right in Making a Similar Claim, by Education,
Income, Occupation and Religion

	CANADIANS			FRENCH		
	(a)	(b)	(c)*	(a)	(b)	(c)
Education						
13 + years	59 (814)	16 (809)	33	54 (273)	16 (273)	2
8 - 12 years	60 (2128)	12 (2154)	27	42 (987)	9 (987)	
0 - 7 years	46 (472)	18 (481)	28	20 (373)	21 (346)	
Income						
\$6,500 or more	60 (1137)	12 (1139)	31	45 (426)	9 (426)	
\$3,000 - \$6,500	54 (1200)	16 (1212)	25	32 (731)	17 (731)	
Under \$3,000	60 (434)	14 (447)	24	34 (264)	7 (264)	
Occupation						
Professional, managerial	58 (460)	12 (1085)	34	54 (1030)	17 (1030)	
Clerical, sales, service	60 (199)	23 (525)	25	55 (519)	11 (519)	
Skilled	53 (385)	14 (723)	23	53 (705)	13 (705)	
Semi-skilled, unskilled	58 (456)	12 (840)	31	35 (836)	17 (836)	
Unskilled, farm laborer	80 (132)	2 (191)	15	20 (191)	-- (191)	
Religion and Religious						
Frequent church attendance						
Catholic	48 (789)	26 (804)	21	26 (307)	21 (307)	
Non-Catholic	54 (670)	6 (679)	37	44 (368)	11 (368)	
Infrequent church attendance						
Catholic	38 (327)	17 (329)	27	38 (224)	20 (224)	
Non-Catholic	70 (1586)	10 (1581)	31	48 (630)	7 (630)	

- * (a) Should be served in own language in stores and restaurants
 (b) French are right in wanting to be served in stores and restaurants in French
 (c) French are right in wanting to be served in stores and restaurants in French but only in Quebec.

1. When people buy in stores and restaurants they feel they should be served in their own language. Yet in Canada, being served in an another language is not an unusual experience. About half or more of the respondents have had this experience, although it is not one that occurs often for most of them. Even among French Canadians who have the experience more than other people, less than half of them experience it often.
2. Nevertheless French Canadians feel more strongly about the experience than other people do: more of them are bothered by the experience, although they do not think that the service they receive is poorer much more frequently than do other people.
3. French Canadians who live in the province of Quebec are less apt to have had the experience than French Canadians living elsewhere in Canada; yet they are bothered by it more frequently than ~~the other French Canadians~~ about one third of them. that they get poorer service because of it most frequently --
4. French Canadians are especially bothered by the experience and think the service they receive is poorer if they do not speak ~~the language of the majority of the population~~ English (about half of them). Speaking French with difficulty or not speaking it at all does not have a similar effect on the feelings of other people. Most of these people remain unbothered by the experience, and most of them do not think it affects the service they receive adversely.
5. The French Canadians who live in the province of Quebec receive very little support for their claim to be spoken to in French in stores and restaurants even from among those people who might

...in Quebec, and English Canadians who live in the
...of Quebec, and English Canadians who live in the
... These people are divided in their support. Other
people are overwhelmingly opposed to the claim.

3. One might conclude from these data that people do not wish to
grant to French Canadians something which they would like for
themselves but they do so because the French Canadian claim to
be spoken to in French is viewed as an issue in political power
both in their minds and in the minds of French Canadians. To
~~recognize~~ the claim in political action, through government
legislation for example, would split Canada, not so much along
ethnic lines, as along provincial lines with the people of Quebec
distinctly at odds with everyone else. The evidence suggests
that, if Canada is to remain a political entity a solution to
the issue, such as decisions by stores and restaurants themselves
based on their own economic advantage, is more feasible than
seeking a solution at the political level.

Au cours de la première partie du présent rapport, nous examinerons les réactions des divers groupes ethniques canadiens à six questions qui leur ont été posées au sujet de la formation raciale dans les écoles canadiennes. Ces questions ont trait, au sujet de la qualité du français et de l'anglais parlés par les Canadiens français et anglais et au sujet des attitudes des groupes ethniques canadiens en matière raciale.

Ainsi donc et bien que 65% des répondants ne se soient pas prononcés, le système scolaire canadien anglais apparaît comme mieux coté que le système canadien-français. En fait, même les Canadiens français qui ont répondu à notre question tendent à y avoir cette opinion.

- B) Le français et l'anglais parlés au Canada sont-ils meilleurs ou non que le français de France et l'anglais d'Angleterre?⁽¹⁾

Le tableau C.1 qui suit présente les opinions que les divers groupes ethniques ont à propos des langues française et anglaise parlées respectivement par les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais.

Tel qu'on peut le constater la langue française des Canadiens français est peu appréciée par les Canadiens d'autres origines: 45.3% des Canadiens anglais et 44.6% des "autres" Canadiens qui se sont prononcés ayant une opinion défavorable sur ce parler. Le tiers des Canadiens français eux-mêmes ont une pareille opinion de leur langue. Par ailleurs, seuls ces derniers semblent accorder au français du prestige.

La situation de la langue anglaise parlée par les Canadiens anglais est différente. En effet, quel groupe que ce soit de 64% à 77% des répondants considèrent la langue anglaise soit meilleure, soit aussi bonne que celle d'Angleterre. Parmi les répondants qui la considèrent moins bonne, les Canadiens français sont ceux qui proportionnellement ont moins tendance à être de cet avis (18.7 versus 26.8% chez les Canadiens anglais et 26.8% chez les autres). Les Canadiens français sont même proportionnellement plus nombreux à considérer le français moins bon relativement à la même opinion qu'ils ont sur l'anglais (32.3% versus 18.7%).

(1) Voir Questions 1-47 et 1-48, Tome II, page R-18.

The Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization, V16 N1

Opinions sur les Langues Françaises et Anglaises Parlées

Prospectivement par les Oueddoug-François et les Oueddoug-François

(a) la catégorie aussi bonne réunit les catégories: aussi bon; pas de différence; différent, mais aussi bon; seulement différent.

[illegible]

En réalité quel que soit le genre de comparaison que l'on fasse, tous les Canadiens sans égard à leur groupe ethnique respectif ont une bonne opinion de la langue anglaise parlée par les Canadiens anglais. La langue française des Canadiens français est quant à elle assez peu appréciée par les répondants non francophones, et assez fortement dépréciée par tous les répondants, les Canadiens français y compris quoique à un moindre degré que par les autres groupes ethniques.

C) Opinions sur certaines aptitudes des Canadiens français et anglais.

1. Talent dans le domaine de la musique, de la littérature et du théâtre?

A cette question, 57.7% ⁽¹⁾ des répondants ne se sont pas prononcés. Parmi ceux qui ont une opinion sur le sujet, on observe que les Canadiens français sont perçus comme ayant le plus de talent par 18.4% des répondants. D'autre part, 8.8% des répondants ont cette opinion à l'endroit des Canadiens anglais et 14.8% à l'endroit d'un troisième groupe.

Par ailleurs à l'intérieur de chaque groupe ethnique interrogé, on observe que seuls les Canadiens français (31.8%) ont tendance à s'attribuer beaucoup de crédit dans les arts et en attribuer beaucoup moins aux autres groupes. Les Canadiens anglais sont plus nuancés, ils croient dans des proportions sensiblement égales (environ 12%) que soit les Canadiens français, soit eux-mêmes, soit un autre groupe ont plus de talent dans les arts. Les autres répondants (environ 22%) attribuent à un troisième groupe plus de talent qu'à tout autre groupe.

(1) Voir Question 1-49, Tome II, page M-19 pour tous les pourcentages mentionnés dans cette section.

2. Talent dans les affaires et le commerce

Dans une proportion de 48.3% les personnes interviewées ne se prononcent pas sur les talents des Canadiens dans le domaine des affaires et de la finance. Par ailleurs 35.2% des répondants s'accordent pour penser que ce sont les Canadiens anglais qui sont les mieux doués. Les "autres" Canadiens reçoivent en moyenne 12% des suffrages pour le talent en affaires. Les Canadiens français arrivent au troisième rang (3.8%). Ils sont d'autre part les seuls à se croire quelque peu doués en finance, tous les autres groupes ne leur ayant accordé leur faveur que dans une proportion qui ne dépasse jamais 3.6% tandis qu'eux-mêmes croient à leur talent d'hommes d'affaires dans une proportion de 8.5%.

3. Talent dans les sciences? ⁽²⁾

Près de 60% des personnes interviewées n'ont pas l'occasion de se prononcer sur le talent dans les sciences des divers groupes ethniques du Canada. Les répondants qui se prononcent, croient dans une proportion de 47% que les Canadiens anglais sont les mieux doués en sciences et dans la même proportion que les "autres" Canadiens le sont. Les Canadiens français ne sont ainsi perçus que dans une proportion de 14%.

Dans des proportions équivalentes (14.5% et 14.6%) les Canadiens français s'accordent à eux-mêmes et accordent aux Canadiens anglais le plus de talent dans les sciences. En ce qui les concerne, ils sont à vrai dire seuls à se croire doués relativement aux sciences, car ils ne leur accordent les autres répondants, anglais et autres.

Les Canadiens anglais pensent qu'ils ont le plus de talent dans les sciences dans une proportion de 19.3%. Les personnes de tout autre groupe ethnique est plus doué dans une proportion de

(1) Voir Question 1-50, Tome II, page II-19, pour tous les pourcentages mentionnés dans cette section.

(2) Voir Question 1-51, Tome II, page II-2.

les opinions générales? Le fait de résider dans un environnement où l'on se parle avec d'autres groupes que le sien transforme-t-il la conception que l'on se fait de la langue parlée par un Canadien français ou de celle parlée par un Canadien anglais? Le fait détermine-t-il ce qu'on pense des études faites dans une école canadienne-française ou canadienne-anglaise?

Les réponses aux diverses questions que nous venons de poser constitueront le contenu de la seconde partie du présent chapitre. Nous considérerons tout d'abord jusqu'à quel point la position socio-économique ou la place des personnes interrogées dans la structure sociale influence les opinions qu'elles ont sur la langue française des Canadiens français et les opinions qu'elles ont sur la langue anglaise des Canadiens anglais et jusqu'à quel point elles jouent sur les opinions qu'on a de la préparation reçue dans une école canadienne-française relativement à celle obtenue dans une école canadienne-anglaise.

En second lieu nous examinerons comment les facteurs de différenciation géographique peuvent transformer ce qu'on pense des langues officielles des deux principaux groupes ethniques du Canada et ce qu'on pense des deux langues officielles parlées par ces deux groupes. Enfin, nous nous demanderons si une meilleure connaissance de l'anglais et du français en particulier fait varier l'opinion défavorable qu'on peut avoir de ces langues.

II. Facteurs Socio-Économiques

D'habitude, on attribue à des facteurs comme la religion, l'éducation et l'occupation des effets analogues et se soumettent les uns aux autres, ils concourent tous à fixer d'une certaine façon une certaine situation d'une personne dans la structure sociale. On doit-on pas s'attendre qu'à un meilleur niveau d'éducation corresponde une meilleure occupation et par suite un meilleur statut? Pourquoi nous examinons maintenant l'effet de ces facteurs sur les opinions des personnes interrogées en ce qui concerne

Tableau 6.2B

Jeunesse défavorable sur l'Anglais en fonction
du Revenu, de l'Éducation et de l'Occupation

Langage des Canadiens anglais des moins de 25 ans	C.A. %	C.F. %	CANADIENS %	Ratio C.F./C.A.
12,499 et moins	26.5 (1740)	25.2 (1114)	18.2 (424)	70.0
\$5,000 - \$6,499	0.0 (3277)	22.7 (2372)	17.8 (1087)	78.4
\$6,500 et plus	29.8 (2823)	17.4 (886)	20.4 (1032)	70.1
0 - 7 ans	27.6 (1235)	23.6 (2209)	14.4 (416)	52.1
8 - 12 ans	30.1 (6866)	20.5 (2885)	21.1 (1908)	70.0
13 ans et plus	29.7 (1928)	30.0 (677)	18.3 (1601)	61.6
Illétrés	28.3 (2288)	22.8 (1033)	11.9 (147)	42.0
Éducation inférieure	32.2 (1962)	21.6 (1432)	22.7 (1404)	70.5
Éducation moyenne	28.1 (1825)	25.6 (913)	28.3 (101)	100.7
Supérieure	31.4 (2865)	25.1 (1227)	22.7 (1101)	72.6
Occupation	22.5 (1053)	14.3 (309)	11.9 (110)	52.9

On n'observe à peu près pas de variations entre les
différents groupes de Canadiens anglais, soit qu'ils aient plus ou
moins d'éducation, soit qu'ils aient plus ou moins le revenu
soit qu'ils aient ou non une meilleure occupation. On observe
cependant pour les moins instruits (13 ans et plus d'étude) dans une proportion
considérable d'entre eux que l'anglais parlé par les Canadiens anglais
est en relation avec ceux parlant eux qui ont moins de
éducation. Cette relation est inverse lorsque l'on considère les

Tableau 6.3

Opinion sur la Formation reçue dans les Ecoles Canadiennes
françaises et anglaises en Fonction du Revenu, de l'Education
et de l'Occupation

	C.A.		C.F.		CANADIENS		CANADIENS ANGAIS	
	Meilleure dans les écoles		Meilleure dans les écoles		Meilleure dans les écoles		Meilleure dans les écoles	
	C.f. %	C.a. %	C.f. %	C.a. %	C.f. %	C.a. %	C.f. %	C.a. %
Revenu								
\$2,999 et moins	3.4 (1728)	32.3	13.6 (1365)	25.9	2.2 (416)	25.5	3.8 (200)	3.4
\$3000 - \$6499	3.1 (3226)	37.3	15.2 (2715)	25.7	1.3 (1120)	27.7	4.2 (692)	3.4
\$6,500 et plus	1.7 (2787)	42.9	11.2 (1018)	27.1	2.0 (1052)	38.4	5.9 (373)	3.4
Éducation								
0 - 7 ans	3.2 (1250)	38.9	12.9 (2653)	23.0	2.6 (430)	32.1	7.0 (310)	3.4
8 - 12 ans	2.7 (6868)	35.0	13.3 (3322)	27.2	1.6 (1998)	28.0	3.0 (111)	3.4
13 ans et plus	1.4 (1098)	43.5	13.4 (731)	20.6	1.3 (771)	36.6	5.1 (254)	3.4
Inférieure	3.4 (2296)	38.1	12.4 (1996)	25.2	2.6 (783)	28.5	5.4 (100)	3.4
Moyenne	3.3 (1950)	37.2	13.0 (1664)	29.8	2.5 (670)	21.9	4.2 (319)	3.4
Supérieure	1.8 (1794)	35.7	10.9 (1050)	28.6	0.0 (490)	32.0	3.2 (100)	3.4
Terminée	2.0 (2816)	37.9	15.1 (1367)	22.6	2.2 (1005)	40.5	2.6 (120)	3.4
Non terminée	1.6 (1145)	31.9	13.3 (555)	11.0	0.0 (180)	27.2	7.0 (100)	3.4

Les opinions qu'on tient à divers propos peuvent varier en fonction que l'on vit dans une région ou l'autre du Canada. Elles varient à prédominance ethnique française, anglaise ou autres. C'est ce que nous voudrions examiner dans cette section à propos de ce que l'on pense de l'anglais et du français parlés au Canada en ce qui concerne la formation reçue dans les écoles canadiennes-françaises et anglaises.

4. Langue Française des Canadiens Français et Langue Anglaise des Canadiens Anglais

Le même fait fondamental déjà observé à l'endroit du français, à savoir qu'un fort contingent de répondants, les trois quarts au plus à part, croient qu'il est moins bon que celui de France, demeure quelle que soit la région observée. C'est une opinion constante en général pour chaque région du pays quel que soit le groupe ethnique. En réalité, une seule variation mérite d'être signalée: les "Canadiens" du Québec et de l'Ontario tendent à se rapprocher quant à la proportion des Canadiens Français.

Le consensus des personnes interrogées à propos de la langue anglaise est davantage remarquable en ce sens que tous les répondants sans exception tendent dans des proportions sensiblement égales à dénigrer l'anglais.

Cependant un fait doit être noté, les Canadiens Français de l'Ontario et des Prairies et les Canadiens des mêmes régions ne se différencient pas de l'anglais parlé au Canada par les Canadiens Français et "autres" des mêmes régions. Les personnes interrogées, tels les fermiers chez les Canadiens Français (voir Tableau 6.22) et nous semblent se rapprocher de la même explication plausible que nous pourrions donner au fait que

Notamment, que le fait de vivre dans un comté à majorité française a des effets négatifs sur l'opinion des répondants à propos de la langue française. Le phénomène confirme l'importance de l'appartenance ethnique comme facteur déterminant de l'opinion qui nous intéresse (voir Tableau 6.4).

Le fait de vivre dans un comté à majorité "française" se reflète chez tous les répondants sans égard à leur groupe ethnique résidentiel. En fait, la proportion de personnes tenant le français pour moins bon (voir Tableau 6.4)q et ce, relativement aux proportions observées pour les autres sous-groupes de comtés. Ce dernier phénomène ajouté à ceux déjà remarqués indique que l'entourage ethnique et probablement la possibilité d'augmentation des contacts avec les autres groupes ethniques entraîne le fléchissement de l'opinion négative que l'on tient à l'endroit de la langue française.

La majorité ethnique des comtés de résidence de chaque langue a aussi un effet sur l'opinion négative qu'on a de l'anglais. Cet effet se fait particulièrement sentir dans les comtés à majorité de Canadiens autres, chez les répondants canadiens-français et chez les "Canadiens". Toutes les autres différences qu'on pourrait constater résulteraient de l'appartenance ethnique. (voir Tableau 6.4).

6. Qualité de la Formation Reçue dans les Ecoles anglophones, françaises et bilingues

Le facteur région a des effets sur l'opinion négative de la langue française (sans égard à l'appartenance ethnique) dans les Maritimes et dans l'Ontario si on est un Canadien sans préférence ethnique. Ces effets sont plus prononcés chez tous les autres groupes ethniques de la région. Dans les deux sous-groupes régionaux épaulés, on constate une différence d'opinion que seule l'appartenance ethnique peut expliquer (voir Tableau F.222). (1)

(1) Voir III.

lors
lors
lors

Une opinion des personnes bilingues sur la question
de savoir si l'on peut parler les deux langues sans
difficulté est rapportée dans le chapitre II. Il est constaté
que l'on ne peut pas parler les deux langues sans
difficulté. La connaissance de l'autre langue (parler sans difficulté le français
ou l'anglais) produit cependant des effets sur les opinions de ceux
qui en ont: ceux qui sont dans cette situation tendent à préférer
le français ou l'anglais.

CHAPTER 7

AND COMPONENTS OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN CANADA

A crucial aspect of interaction between ethnic groups is the dialogue between them. It is in this dialogue that each one has on their common affairs which in the course of living together, they are able to understand. This dialogue involves understanding and misunderstanding. It contains the seeds of stability and of change in interethnic relations. Because of this we feel that to know about this dialogue may help to evaluate the kind of interethnic relations which exist at a given time in a given society. Our purpose is to look at the evaluations which are made of the influence of English Canadians and of French Canadians in the political arena of Canada, the results of these evaluations and their feelings about the future of the political relations between two groups. We will examine if these evaluations differ depending on whether people identify as English Canadians, French Canadians, Canadians or as members of other groups. In addition, we will examine whether or not the evaluations which people of the various ethnic groups make depend on their positions in the social structure, the age-group to which they belong, their contacts with other ethnic communities and the social characteristics of the areas in which they live.

We are interested in the approval or disapproval of the attempts of English and French Canadians to gain political power in Canada and of the ~~relationship between these groups~~ with the optimism or pessimism regarding the future of the relations between these groups.

Evaluation of the Behavior of Ethnic Groups

The issues on which people were asked to express their feelings of approval or disapproval are subjects of great concern for ethnic groups. They have to do with the distribution of political influence between them. We expect that on these issues, if ethnicity counts at all, people will be more prone to stand with their own ethnic groups than against them. At the same time, we cannot anticipate the degree to which the expression of approval and of disapproval toward English Canadians and French Canadians depend on ethnicity. We cannot guess, in other words, the extent to which members of a given group compared to people of other ethnic groups approve of the attempts on the part of their own group to gain political influence in Canada.

3.1 Evaluations of English Canadian Political Influence

Do English Canadians, French Canadians or "Others" differ in their evaluations of the political influence of English Canadians?

We observe that French Canadians are much more prone than are people of other ethnic groups to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence in Canada. 68.0% of French Canadians think so compared to 15.3% among English Canadians and 17.5% of Others. Among Canadians whose language is English, French or neither English nor French the percentages who feel that English Canadians try to gain too much influence are respectively 15.1%, 25.3% and 23.6%. Ethnicity makes a difference in the way we react to English Canadian political influence. Language makes a difference as well among Canadians.

Table 7.1

Reactions to the Political Influence of
English Canadians, by Ethnicity

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS			Total
	%	%	E.	F.	Others	
English Canadians are trying to gain too much political influence	15.5	43.0	13.7	25.3	23.6	26.5
	(11170)	(7054)	(3082)	(192)	(237)	(11121)

While we find that French Canadians react much unlike other ethnic groups, it is quite interesting to note that of all groups they are the ones with the strongest disagreement on the issue of whether or not English Canadians try to gain too much influence. While 43.0% of French Canadians disapprove of the attempts of English Canadians to increase their political influence, 52.0% of them do not express this view. There is much less disagreement in other ethnic groups. Among English Canadians and Canadians of English language, especially, the bulk of people do not feel that the English try to gain too much political influence.

7.2 Evaluations of French Canadian Political Influence

As far as the political influence of French Canadians is concerned, we observe that French Canadians are much less prone than people of other ethnic groups to feel that they themselves try to gain too much political influence: 16.7% of French Canadians agree to 57.3% of English Canadians and 52.6% among "Others" feel that French Canadians try to gain too much political influence. The striking thing about these percentages is that it is the reverse of what we found concerning the political influence of English Canadians: about half of the French think the English try to gain too much political influence; about half the English think the same about the French. Neither group is very likely to think so about the other.

Table 7.2

Reactions to the Political Influence of French Canadians, by Ethnicity

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS		
			E. %	F. %	Others %
French Canadians are trying to gain too much political influence	57.3	16.7	56.6	15.4	42.2
	(11161)	(7042)	(3082)	(162)	(233)

It is worth noticing, finally, that English Canadians, Canadians of English language and "Others" are far from having reached unanimity on the political influence of French Canadians. Among English Canadians, for instance, 57.3% feel that French Canadians try to gain too much political influence, but 42.7% do not express this view. This is far from a consensus. We find the same division of opinions among Canadians of English language and Others. On the other hand, there is a great deal of consensus among French Canadians and Canadians of French language: most of them feel that French Canadians do not try to gain too much influence in the political affairs of Canada.

3.3. Evaluations of French Canadian Demands

We have described the feelings of various ethnic groups towards the political influence of English and French Canadians. We now turn to their feelings towards the demands and the compensation of French Canadians. Do these feelings differ from one ethnic group to the other and in what measure?

French Canadians are much less prone than are respondents of other ethnic groups to feel that French Canadians ask the rest of Canada for more than they have a right to expect: 16.6% compared to 30.7% among English Canadians. English Canadians are more likely to

Table 7.3

Reactions to the Demands of French
Canadians, by Ethnicity

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS			Total
			E.	F.	Others	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
French Canadians are asking the rest of Canada for more than what they have a right to expect	60.5 (11170)	16.0 (7054)	57.0 (3082)	14.3 (182)	31.7 (257)	50.7 (1600)

While the proportions of English Canadians and "Others" who feel that French Canadians ask for too much are fairly high, there are nevertheless large fractions of these groups who do not express this view. Among "Others" the proportion of people who do not express the view that French Canadians ask for more than they have a right to expect is 48.8%; the corresponding proportion is 49.5% among English Canadians. In turn 34.0% of the French Canadian respondents feel that French Canadians ask for no more than they have a right to expect.

The respondents were asked whether or not French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group in Canada. The answers to this question can provide an indication of the feelings concerning the proper place of French Canadians in Canadian society -- an issue which is at the heart of many demands of French Canadians.

Table 7.4 shows that the proportions of French Canadians who feel that French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group are smaller than are the proportions of respondents of other ethnic groups who express the same view. In addition, we observe that among English Canadians and "Others" the proportions of respondents who feel that French Canadians should be treated like any other minority group are about the same.

Table 1.4

Opinions Regarding the Status of French Canadians as a Group

	E.C.	F.C.	CANADIANS			OTHERS
			E.	F.	Others	
French Canadians should be treated like any other minority group	66.6 (11162)	56.2 (7050)	62.7 (3082)	40.7 (182)	53.2 (257)	68.1 (169)

It is interesting to note that 56.2% of the French Canadians feel that they should be treated like any other minority group. Should this be understood to mean that those French Canadians would accept a status involving less rights? Probably not. Notice that the question assumes that French Canadians are a minority. It would be more proper than to question this assumption French Canadians themselves have preferred to take it for granted. If we say, then, that French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority, it would mean with the full recognition of their rights.

There is an even more puzzling question. Within each ethnic group there are fairly large proportions of people who do not feel that French Canadians should be treated like any other minority group. These proportions are 41% among French Canadians and respectively 33%, and 32% among English Canadians and "Others". Do these people feel that French Canadians deserve special privileges? Or do they feel that they should have less than other minorities?

French Canadians accompany their demands with complaints. Who is to be blamed for what French Canadians complain about? Are they to be blamed themselves? Do the feelings of responsibility of various ethnic groups differ on this question? We shall see.

This question is discussed later on the same chapter. Tables 1.5 and 1.6 contain more detailed indications on the reactions of various ethnic groups to the issue of the rights of French Canadians.

be expected, they do: 77.6% of English Canadians feel that what the French complain about is mostly their own fault, while 59.1% of French Canadians feel this way. The "Others" stand in between these two groups. Table 7.5 shows, finally that there is little agreement among French Canadians as to where to place the blame: 59.1% of French Canadians feel they are to be blamed for what they complain about, but 40.9% of them feel that they are not to be blamed. Among English Canadians and to some extent among "Others" there is a great deal more agreement in putting the blame on French Canadians.

Table 7.5
Opinion about the Complaints of
French Canadians by Ethnicity

	E.C.	F.C.	Others		
	%	%	E. %	F. %	Others %
French Canadians are wrong in putting the blame on others, because what they complain about is mostly their own fault	77.6	59.1	76.5	58.7	59.3
	(11170)	(7050)	(3082)	(182)	(237)

1.2. Attitudes Concerning English-French Relations

Are people optimistic concerning the future of the relations between English Canadians and French Canadians? Optimism vary from one ethnic group to the other? We find that the disagreement which, on a range of issues, exists among ethnic groups and particularly between French Canadians and Canadians of English language and all other groups coexists with a good deal of optimism about English-French relations.

52.2% of people of all ethnic groups feel that in five or six years the relations between English Canadians and French Canadians will get better than they are now.

Table 7.6

Expectancies Concerning English-French
Relations by Ethnicity

	Eng.	Fr.	E.	F.	Others	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
English-French relations will get better	49.5	59.9	49.5	61.5	54.4	45.0
	(11164)	(7054)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(46)

Table 7.6 shows that optimism is stronger among French Canadians than it is among other ethnic groups: 59.9% compared with 49.5% among English Canadians and 45.0% among Other Canadians.

II

Variations in the Evaluations of Ethnic Behavior Within Each Ethnic Group

Do the evaluations of the attempts of English and French to gain political influence, the reactions to French Canadian demands, and the expectancies regarding English-French relations depend on the positions which people of the various ethnic groups occupy in the social structure? Do the young and the old differ in their evaluations and attitudes? Does contact with members of other ethnic groups have consequences on one's views and feelings? Does it make a difference if people live in different regions of Canada or if they live in areas where their own ethnic group or another ethnic group is in a position of numerical dominance?

- (1) There are small proportions of people in each ethnic group who feel that English-French relations will get worse. See Table 1, Question 3-76, p. M-18.

2.1 Variations Within Each Ethnic Group by Education and Income

The interests which people have depend a great deal on the positions which they occupy in the social structure. People who are located at different levels in the social structure are not affected in the same way by the balance of political power, privileges and rights which exist among ethnic groups. Consequently, they might not express the same views regarding what it is proper for each group to have and what are the legitimate demands to be made. In the same way, depending on their positions in the social structures, people will feel threatened or advantaged by the dialogue between ethnic groups. Some will experience interethnic relations with apprehension, others with hope.

Education and income are used as indices of the positions occupied in the social structure. Insofar as this structure is a stratification system, these variables have been found to be good measures of the location of individuals in it.

A. Political Influence

Table 7.7 shows that within each ethnic group the greater the number of years of schooling the less people feel that either English or French Canadians try to gain too much influence in the political affairs of Canada. Education reduces significantly the expression of disapproval toward the political behavior of English or French. This is especially true of the reactions to French Canadian attempts to gain influence: within each group, the proportion of respondents who feel that French Canadians try to gain too much political influence are much lower among respondents with 13 or more years of schooling than they are among respondents with either 0 to 6 years or 7 to 12 years. The findings can be summarized in this way: French Canadians disapprove of their attempts to gain political influence less than do people of other ethnic groups no matter which level of schooling we consider. But the more educated French Canadians disapprove of them even less than do the less educated French Canadians. In short,

The most educated English Canadians and "Others" disapprove of the fact that English political influence less than do the least educated. This seems to indicate that in their attempts to gain political influence, French Canadians can recruit support primarily among their own group, especially among their best educated people. The educated English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" are the next most likely to give some support.

Table 7.7 shows that if instead of education we use income as our index of position in the social structure among English, French, or "Others", the respondents with a higher income are less likely to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence.

The feelings of French Canadians toward their political influence vary little with their income: the proportions of French Canadians who feel that they try to gain too much political influence are about the same for all income groups. The feelings of English Canadians and "Others", however, depends a great deal on their income: the higher their income, the less they disapprove of the efforts of French Canadians to gain political influence.

B. The Demands of French Canadians

The feelings which people have toward the demands of French Canadians depend on their degree of schooling. Table 7.8 shows that the more educated French Canadians are less likely to feel that they are asked for more than they have a right to expect and that they should be treated like any other minority group. French Canadians with 15 years of schooling or more are especially less likely to disapprove of the demands of their own group. We observe the same trend among English Canadians and "Others": the more educated people are less likely to feel that French Canadians ask for too much and should be treated like any other minority group. English Canadians and "Others" with 15 years of schooling or more are especially less likely to disapprove of French Canadian demands.

Reactions to the Demands of French Canadians.

c. By Sex and Years of Schooling											
F.O.				CANADIANS				CHINESE			
Education (years)		Education (years)		Education (years)		Education (years)		Education (years)		Education (years)	
0-7 %	8-12 %	13+ %	0-7 %	8-12 %	13+ %	0-7 %	8-12 %	13+ %	0-7 %	8-12 %	13+ %
73.1 (1119)	71.3 (5652)	60.9 (1792)	17.8 (2546)	19.2 (3123)	10.5 (714)	57.9 (425)	64.2 (1790)	61.0 (713)	71.7 (318)	65.5 (788)	46.8 (235)
82.5 (4289)	71.8 (7377)	48.2 (2004)	62.4 (1749)	59.2 (3332)	37.0 (733)	72.7 (446)	66.8 (2064)	50.2 (807)	82.5 (342)	72.5 (974)	55.3 (264)

French Canadians are asking the rest of Canada for more than they have a right to expect

French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority

b. By Ethnicity and Income													
	E.C.			F.C.			CANADIANS			OTHERS			
	Income			Income			Income			Income			
	\$	%		\$	%		\$	%		\$	%		
French Canadians are asking the rest of Canada for more than they have a right to expect	2,999	73.8	65.8	2,999	19.8	16.4	2,999	73.5	62.9	61.4	2,999	66.3	71.0
	or -	(1550)	(3144)	or -	(1277)	(2619)	or -	(359)	(996)	(1026)	or -	(233)	(360)
French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority	2,999	80.0	69.0	2,999	65.4	57.6	2,999	74.6	62.3	59.2	2,999	76.4	73.6
	or -	(1345)	(3425)	or -	(1403)	(2754)	or -	(418)	(1179)	(1074)	or -	(237)	(424)

Among English Canadians and "Others", income affects the reactions to French Canadian demands: the higher the income the less the respondents feel that French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group. We observe this same tendency among French Canadians. Finally, Table 7.8 shows that among all ethnic categories, including the French Canadians themselves it is the low income people (\$1999 or less) who are most likely to feel that French Canadians should have a minority status.

Among English Canadians and especially among Canadians, low income people (\$1999 or less) are more prone than high income people to feel that French Canadians ask for too much. Among the "Others", we observe the opposite: high income people (\$6,500 or more) are more prone than low income people to feel that French Canadians ask for too much. Among French Canadians the bulk of people feel that they are not asking for more than they have a right to expect. Income makes no difference.⁽¹⁾

C. The Future of English-French Relations

In all ethnic groups, the more educated people are the more optimistic they are about the future of the relationships between

(1) Data which are not presented here indicate that Canadians who feel economic deprivation tend to be associated with less approval of French Canadian demands among English Canadians, Canadians and "Others". This is more so, however, among English Canadians and Others than among Canadians. English Canadians and Others who feel that their economic position has deteriorated or that it will deteriorate are more prone than are those who feel that their economic position has improved or remained the same or will improve or remain the same to feel that French Canadians ask too much, that they should be treated like any other minority and that they are to be blamed for their own troubles. In other words English Canadians and Others who feel economically deprived are more prone to disapprove of French Canadian demands and complaints than are those who are not economically deprived. They are more prone to disapprove of French Canadian political influence as well. This is definitely the trend even if this trend is not very strong. Among French Canadians, feelings of economic deprivation are not associated with less approval of their demands. Neither are they associated with greater disapproval of English Canadian political influence. See Table III, Tables F-259, F-272, F-285.

optimism depends on income. Among French Canadians optimism tends to increase steadily with income. Among English Canadians people whose income is \$3,000 a year or more tend to be more optimistic than are those whose income is less than \$3,000 a year. Among "Others", people whose income is \$6,500 a year or more tend to be more optimistic about English-French relations than are those who earn less than \$6,500 a year. Among Canadians income does not affect optimism. It is worth noticing finally that no matter which level of education or income we consider French Canadians are more optimistic than are respondents of all ethnic groups.

Table 7.9

Percent who think that English-French
Relations Will Get Better in Five or Six Years

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
<u>Education</u>				
0 - 7 years	43.1 (1376)	54.3 (2837)	40.7 (474)	36.3 (351)
8 - 12 years	47.6 (7552)	62.1 (3415)	50.3 (2147)	40.9 (1009)
13 years and more	53.2 (2019)	72.8 (751)	53.1 (816)	60.7 (275)
<u>Income</u>				
\$2,999 or less	44.4 (1893)	55.4 (1463)	51.2 (447)	42.4 (264)
\$3,000 - \$6,499	52.1 (3526)	62.9 (2891)	53.8 (1205)	39.1 (739)
\$6,500 and more	51.4 (2981)	67.4 (1056)	50.2 (1139)	49.1 (426)

2.2 Variations Within Each Ethnic Group by Age

The fact that people who belong to different age-groups tend to have distinctive social outlooks raises an interesting question: do people of the various ethnic groups who belong to different age-groups differ in the way they react to English Canadian and French Canadian political influence and to French Canadian demands? Are there any variations in the way people of various ethnic groups feel about the future of English-French relations depending on the age-group to which they belong? Are there any noticeable generational differences in the reactions to ethnic behavior and in the expectations concerning English-French relations?

A. Political Influence

Reactions to the political influence of English Canadians depend on age. Table 7-10 shows that the older English Canadians are less likely to feel that they try to gain too much political influence than are the younger ones. The percentage differences between age groups tend to be small, however. On the other hand, French Canadians and "Others" aged 30 years and over are more likely than those aged 20 or less to feel that English try to gain too much political influence. We should note also that French Canadians of all age-groups are a great deal more likely than are respondents of other ethnic groups to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much influence.

The feelings of English Canadians toward the attempts of French Canadians to gain political influence depend much on their age. The older more frequently feel that French Canadians are trying to gain too much political influence. We observe a similar tendency among French Canadians and "Others" but it is weaker. It seems that, in addition to age itself generation affects the reactions of English Canadians, French Canadians and "Others" to the political influence of French Canadians: within each ethnic group, but particularly among English Canadians and



Page 10

3. Reactions to the Political Influence of English and French Canadians by Stanley and Auer

	F.O.			F.O.			COMBINED		
	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	
	29 or -	30-49	50+	29 or -	30-49	50+	29 or -	30-49	50+
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
French Canadians are trying to gain too much influence	54.2 (1698)	61.2 (4271)	74.6 (3646)	17.5 (1311)	28.3 (2761)	20.1 (1874)	53.1 (550)	52.9 (1682)	67.1 (937)
English Canadians are trying to gain too much influence	22.0 (1703)	17.1 (4375)	15.0 (3619)	50.9 (1242)	59.4 (2645)	59.0 (1777)	15.0 (555)	13.8 (1651)	22.5 (944)

2. Reactions to the Demands and Complaints of French Canadians by Ethnicity and Age*

	1954	1957	1960	1962	1966	1968	1970	1972	1974	1976	1978	1980
French Canadians are seeking the rest of Canada for more than they have a right to expect	56.3 (1754)	67.9 (4118)	78.0 (3507)	16.4 (2877)	19.8 (1962)	61.5 (501)	58.7 (1566)	70.3 (815)	80.6 (2570)	82.2 (1606)	84.0 (117)	85.0 (117)
French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group	63.4 (1700)	69.2 (3631)	71.4 (2974)	56.7 (1410)	50.2 (1000)	54.2 (1420)	41.3 (1135)	41.3 (1135)	41.3 (1135)	41.3 (1135)	41.3 (1135)	41.3 (1135)
What French Canadians complain about is mostly that they are not	46.9 (1724)	55.1 (4100)	60.4 (3554)	20.7 (1410)	23.6 (1730)	47.3 (1410)	53.9 (1410)	56.5 (1410)	44.4 (1410)	54.7 (1410)	54.7 (1410)	54.7 (1410)

The detailed review, see Part III, contains the following: P-10, P-11, P-12, P-13, P-14, P-15, P-16, P-17, P-18, P-19, P-20, P-21, P-22, P-23, P-24, P-25, P-26, P-27, P-28, P-29, P-30, P-31, P-32, P-33, P-34, P-35, P-36, P-37, P-38, P-39, P-40, P-41, P-42, P-43, P-44, P-45, P-46, P-47, P-48, P-49, P-50, P-51, P-52, P-53, P-54, P-55, P-56, P-57, P-58, P-59, P-60, P-61, P-62, P-63, P-64, P-65, P-66, P-67, P-68, P-69, P-70, P-71, P-72, P-73, P-74, P-75, P-76, P-77, P-78, P-79, P-80, P-81, P-82, P-83, P-84, P-85, P-86, P-87, P-88, P-89, P-90, P-91, P-92, P-93, P-94, P-95, P-96, P-97, P-98, P-99, P-100, P-101, P-102, P-103, P-104, P-105, P-106, P-107, P-108, P-109, P-110, P-111, P-112, P-113, P-114, P-115, P-116, P-117, P-118, P-119, P-120, P-121, P-122, P-123, P-124, P-125, P-126, P-127, P-128, P-129, P-130, P-131, P-132, P-133, P-134, P-135, P-136, P-137, P-138, P-139, P-140, P-141, P-142, P-143, P-144, P-145, P-146, P-147, P-148, P-149, P-150, P-151, P-152, P-153, P-154, P-155, P-156, P-157, P-158, P-159, P-160, P-161, P-162, P-163, P-164, P-165, P-166, P-167, P-168, P-169, P-170, P-171, P-172, P-173, P-174, P-175, P-176, P-177, P-178, P-179, P-180, P-181, P-182, P-183, P-184, P-185, P-186, P-187, P-188, P-189, P-190, P-191, P-192, P-193, P-194, P-195, P-196, P-197, P-198, P-199, P-200, P-201, P-202, P-203, P-204, P-205, P-206, P-207, P-208, P-209, P-210, P-211, P-212, P-213, P-214, P-215, P-216, P-217, P-218, P-219, P-220, P-221, P-222, P-223, P-224, P-225, P-226, P-227, P-228, P-229, P-230, P-231, P-232, P-233, P-234, P-235, P-236, P-237, P-238, P-239, P-240, P-241, P-242, P-243, P-244, P-245, P-246, P-247, P-248, P-249, P-250, P-251, P-252, P-253, P-254, P-255, P-256, P-257, P-258, P-259, P-260, P-261, P-262, P-263, P-264, P-265, P-266, P-267, P-268, P-269, P-270, P-271, P-272, P-273, P-274, P-275, P-276, P-277, P-278, P-279, P-280, P-281, P-282, P-283, P-284, P-285, P-286, P-287, P-288, P-289, P-290, P-291, P-292, P-293, P-294, P-295, P-296, P-297, P-298, P-299, P-300, P-301, P-302, P-303, P-304, P-305, P-306, P-307, P-308, P-309, P-310, P-311, P-312, P-313, P-314, P-315, P-316, P-317, P-318, P-319, P-320, P-321, P-322, P-323, P-324, P-325, P-326, P-327, P-328, P-329, P-330, P-331, P-332, P-333, P-334, P-335, P-336, P-337, P-338, P-339, P-340, P-341, P-342, P-343, P-344, P-345, P-346, P-347, P-348, P-349, P-350, P-351, P-352, P-353, P-354, P-355, P-356, P-357, P-358, P-359, P-360, P-361, P-362, P-363, P-364, P-365, P-366, P-367, P-368, P-369, P-370, P-371, P-372, P-373, P-374, P-375, P-376, P-377, P-378, P-379, P-380, P-381, P-382, P-383, P-384, P-385, P-386, P-387, P-388, P-389, P-390, P-391, P-392, P-393, P-394, P-395, P-396, P-397, P-398, P-399, P-400, P-401, P-402, P-403, P-404, P-405, P-406, P-407, P-408, P-409, P-410, P-411, P-412, P-413, P-414, P-415, P-416, P-417, P-418, P-419, P-420, P-421, P-422, P-423, P-424, P-425, P-426, P-427, P-428, P-429, P-430, P-431, P-432, P-433, P-434, P-435, P-436, P-437, P-438, P-439, P-440, P-441, P-442, P-443, P-444, P-445, P-446, P-447, P-448, P-449, P-450, P-451, P-452, P-453, P-454, P-455, P-456, P-457, P-458, P-459, P-460, P-461, P-462, P-463, P-464, P-465, P-466, P-467, P-468, P-469, P-470, P-471, P-472, P-473, P-474, P-475, P-476, P-477, P-478, P-479, P-480, P-481, P-482, P-483, P-484, P-485, P-486, P-487, P-488, P-489, P-490, P-491, P-492, P-493, P-494, P-495, P-496, P-497, P-498, P-499, P-500, P-501, P-502, P-503, P-504, P-505, P-506, P-507, P-508, P-509, P-510, P-511, P-512, P-513, P-514, P-515, P-516, P-517, P-518, P-519, P-520, P-521, P-522, P-523, P-524, P-525, P-526, P-527, P-528, P-529, P-530, P-531, P-532, P-533, P-534, P-535, P-536, P-537, P-538, P-539, P-540, P-541, P-542, P-543, P-544, P-545, P-546, P-547, P-548, P-549, P-550, P-551, P-552, P-553, P-554, P-555, P-556, P-557, P-558, P-559, P-560, P-561, P-562, P-563, P-564, P-565, P-566, P-567, P-568, P-569, P-570, P-571, P-572, P-573, P-574, P-575, P-576, P-577, P-578, P-579, P-580, P-581, P-582, P-583, P-584, P-585, P-586, P-587, P-588, P-589, P-590, P-591, P-592, P-593, P-594, P-595, P-596, P-597, P-598, P-599, P-600, P-601, P-602, P-603, P-604, P-605, P-606, P-607, P-608, P-609, P-610, P-611, P-612, P-613, P-614, P-615, P-616, P-617, P-618, P-619, P-620, P-621, P-622, P-623, P-624, P-625, P-626, P-627, P-628, P-629, P-630, P-631, P-632, P-633, P-634, P-635, P-636, P-637, P-638, P-639, P-640, P-641, P-642, P-643, P-644, P-645, P-646, P-647, P-648, P-649, P-650, P-651, P-652, P-653, P-654, P-655, P-656, P-657, P-658, P-659, P-660, P-661, P-662, P-663, P-664, P-665, P-666, P-667, P-668, P-669, P-670, P-671, P-672, P-673, P-674, P-675, P-676, P-677, P-678, P-679, P-680, P-681, P-682, P-683, P-684, P-685, P-686, P-687, P-688, P-689, P-690, P-691, P-692, P-693, P-694, P-695, P-696, P-697, P-698, P-699, P-700, P-701, P-702, P-703, P-704, P-7

...the approval of the political influence of French Canadians is more typical of the older generation.

As with other variables, the attitudes of French Canadians on their political influence does not vary with age: the bulk of them approve of it and at each age level they approve of it more than the respondents in other ethnic categories.

The Demands of French Canadians

Age makes little difference in the way French Canadians feel about the demands of their own group. Table 7.10 shows that in each age-group we find about the same proportion of French Canadians who feel that they ask for too much, the same proportion who feel that they should be treated like any other minority and the same proportion of respondents who blame themselves for their own troubles.

Table 7.10 shows that among English Canadians and Canadians, disapproval of French Canadian demands and complaints tend to increase steadily with age. Among "Others", people aged 30 and over are noticeably more prone than the younger to feel that French Canadians ask for too much, that they deserve a minority status and that they should blame themselves for their own troubles. Finally, whatever the age-group, French Canadians are much less prone to disapprove of their own demands than are people of other groups. While age makes a difference in the way people react to French Canadian demands (except among French Canadians) whether they are French Canadians or not remains the crucial difference.

C. The Future of English-French Relations

Optimism about English-French relations varies with age both among English Canadians and French Canadians. But it does so in the opposite direction.

Table 7.11

Percent who Feel that English-French Relations Will
Get Better in Five or Six Years by Ethnicity and Age.*

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
<u>Age</u>				
29 or less	56.5 (1958)	57.7 (1474)	49.2 (614)	47.4 (363)
30 - 49	48.8 (4769)	59.9 (3145)	53.6 (1783)	41.5 (750)
50 or more	45.8 (4084)	63.7 (2113)	43.4 (1036)	45.8 (541)

* For detailed table see Tome III, Table F-320.

Table 7.11 shows that among English Canadians the older the respondents the less optimistic they are about the future of English-French relations. Among French Canadians the older the respondents the more optimistic they are. Canadians aged 50 years or more are somewhat less optimistic than others. Among "Others" we observe no definite tendency. We find also that irrespective of age French Canadians are more optimistic than are people of other ethnic categories.

Do the contacts which people have outside their own ethnic communities affect their reactions to ethnic behavior? Are the reactions of English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" to the

political positions and demands of French Canadians are not as extreme as they may first appear. On the contrary, most French Canadians agree with English Canadians that French Canadians should be treated like any other minority.

Political Influence of English and French and the Demands of French Canadians

Table 7.12 shows that the feelings which people express toward the behavior of a group other than their own demand no matter they know or meet people of this group. English Canadians and those who know or meet French Canadians are more likely than those who do not to feel that French Canadians try to gain too much influence, ask for more than they should and to think that French Canadians should be treated like any other minority.

Table 7.12

Reactions to the Political Influence and the Demands

of French Canadians by Ethnicity and Contacts with French Canadians

	E.C.		CANADIANS		
	Contacts with F.C. Have %	Have not %	Contacts with F.C. Have %	Have not %	
French Canadians try to gain too much influence	62.1 (7623)	72.2 (2280)	53.4 (2595)	73.7 (672)	62.1 (973)
French Canadians ask for more than they have a right to expect	66.6 (7465)	78.3 (2282)	61.3 (2406)	70.3 (573)	63.6 (973)
French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group	66.5 (8033)	75.5 (2566)	60.4 (2576)	76.3 (606)	69.7 (973)
Most French Canadians completely wrong in what they are doing	55.5 (7638)	55.0 (2104)	54.3 (2391)	49.0 (607)	52.5 (901)

* See also detailed tables on Table III, Volume Two, 7-109, 7-110, 7-111, 7-112, 7-113, 7-114, 7-115, 7-116, 7-117, 7-118, 7-119, 7-120, 7-121, 7-122, 7-123, 7-124, 7-125, 7-126, 7-127, 7-128, 7-129, 7-130, 7-131, 7-132, 7-133, 7-134, 7-135, 7-136, 7-137, 7-138, 7-139, 7-140, 7-141, 7-142, 7-143, 7-144, 7-145, 7-146, 7-147, 7-148, 7-149, 7-150, 7-151, 7-152, 7-153, 7-154, 7-155, 7-156, 7-157, 7-158, 7-159, 7-160, 7-161, 7-162, 7-163, 7-164, 7-165, 7-166, 7-167, 7-168, 7-169, 7-170, 7-171, 7-172, 7-173, 7-174, 7-175, 7-176, 7-177, 7-178, 7-179, 7-180, 7-181, 7-182, 7-183, 7-184, 7-185, 7-186, 7-187, 7-188, 7-189, 7-190, 7-191, 7-192, 7-193, 7-194, 7-195, 7-196, 7-197, 7-198, 7-199, 7-200, 7-201, 7-202, 7-203, 7-204, 7-205, 7-206, 7-207, 7-208, 7-209, 7-210, 7-211, 7-212, 7-213, 7-214, 7-215, 7-216, 7-217, 7-218, 7-219, 7-220, 7-221, 7-222, 7-223, 7-224, 7-225, 7-226, 7-227, 7-228, 7-229, 7-230, 7-231, 7-232, 7-233, 7-234, 7-235, 7-236, 7-237, 7-238, 7-239, 7-240, 7-241, 7-242, 7-243, 7-244, 7-245, 7-246, 7-247, 7-248, 7-249, 7-250, 7-251, 7-252, 7-253, 7-254, 7-255, 7-256, 7-257, 7-258, 7-259, 7-260, 7-261, 7-262, 7-263, 7-264, 7-265, 7-266, 7-267, 7-268, 7-269, 7-270, 7-271, 7-272, 7-273, 7-274, 7-275, 7-276, 7-277, 7-278, 7-279, 7-280, 7-281, 7-282, 7-283, 7-284, 7-285, 7-286, 7-287, 7-288, 7-289, 7-290, 7-291, 7-292, 7-293, 7-294, 7-295, 7-296, 7-297, 7-298, 7-299, 7-300, 7-301, 7-302, 7-303, 7-304, 7-305, 7-306, 7-307, 7-308, 7-309, 7-310, 7-311, 7-312, 7-313, 7-314, 7-315, 7-316, 7-317, 7-318, 7-319, 7-320, 7-321, 7-322, 7-323, 7-324, 7-325, 7-326, 7-327, 7-328, 7-329, 7-330, 7-331, 7-332, 7-333, 7-334, 7-335, 7-336, 7-337, 7-338, 7-339, 7-340, 7-341, 7-342, 7-343, 7-344, 7-345, 7-346, 7-347, 7-348, 7-349, 7-350, 7-351, 7-352, 7-353, 7-354, 7-355, 7-356, 7-357, 7-358, 7-359, 7-360, 7-361, 7-362, 7-363, 7-364, 7-365, 7-366, 7-367, 7-368, 7-369, 7-370, 7-371, 7-372, 7-373, 7-374, 7-375, 7-376, 7-377, 7-378, 7-379, 7-380, 7-381, 7-382, 7-383, 7-384, 7-385, 7-386, 7-387, 7-388, 7-389, 7-390, 7-391, 7-392, 7-393, 7-394, 7-395, 7-396, 7-397, 7-398, 7-399, 7-400, 7-401, 7-402, 7-403, 7-404, 7-405, 7-406, 7-407, 7-408, 7-409, 7-410, 7-411, 7-412, 7-413, 7-414, 7-415, 7-416, 7-417, 7-418, 7-419, 7-420, 7-421, 7-422, 7-423, 7-424, 7-425, 7-426, 7-427, 7-428, 7-429, 7-430, 7-431, 7-432, 7-433, 7-434, 7-435, 7-436, 7-437, 7-438, 7-439, 7-440, 7-441, 7-442, 7-443, 7-444, 7-445, 7-446, 7-447, 7-448, 7-449, 7-450, 7-451, 7-452, 7-453, 7-454, 7-455, 7-456, 7-457, 7-458, 7-459, 7-460, 7-461, 7-462, 7-463, 7-464, 7-465, 7-466, 7-467, 7-468, 7-469, 7-470, 7-471, 7-472, 7-473, 7-474, 7-475, 7-476, 7-477, 7-478, 7-479, 7-480, 7-481, 7-482, 7-483, 7-484, 7-485, 7-486, 7-487, 7-488, 7-489, 7-490, 7-491, 7-492, 7-493, 7-494, 7-495, 7-496, 7-497, 7-498, 7-499, 7-500, 7-501, 7-502, 7-503, 7-504, 7-505, 7-506, 7-507, 7-508, 7-509, 7-510, 7-511, 7-512, 7-513, 7-514, 7-515, 7-516, 7-517, 7-518, 7-519, 7-520, 7-521, 7-522, 7-523, 7-524, 7-525, 7-526, 7-527, 7-528, 7-529, 7-530, 7-531, 7-532, 7-533, 7-534, 7-535, 7-536, 7-537, 7-538, 7-539, 7-540, 7-541, 7-542, 7-543, 7-544, 7-545, 7-546, 7-547, 7-548, 7-549, 7-550, 7-551, 7-552, 7-553, 7-554, 7-555, 7-556, 7-557, 7-558, 7-559, 7-560, 7-561, 7-562, 7-563, 7-564, 7-565, 7-566, 7-567, 7-568, 7-569, 7-570, 7-571, 7-572, 7-573, 7-574, 7-575, 7-576, 7-577, 7-578, 7-579, 7-580, 7-581, 7-582, 7-583, 7-584, 7-585, 7-586, 7-587, 7-588, 7-589, 7-590, 7-591, 7-592, 7-593, 7-594, 7-595, 7-596, 7-597, 7-598, 7-599, 7-600, 7-601, 7-602, 7-603, 7-604, 7-605, 7-606, 7-607, 7-608, 7-609, 7-610, 7-611, 7-612, 7-613, 7-614, 7-615, 7-616, 7-617, 7-618, 7-619, 7-620, 7-621, 7-622, 7-623, 7-624, 7-625, 7-626, 7-627, 7-628, 7-629, 7-630, 7-631, 7-632, 7-633, 7-634, 7-635, 7-636, 7-637, 7-638, 7-639, 7-640, 7-641, 7-642, 7-643, 7-644, 7-645, 7-646, 7-647, 7-648, 7-649, 7-650, 7-651, 7-652, 7-653, 7-654, 7-655, 7-656, 7-657, 7-658, 7-659, 7-660, 7-661, 7-662, 7-663, 7-664, 7-665, 7-666, 7-667, 7-668, 7-669, 7-670, 7-671, 7-672, 7-673, 7-674, 7-675, 7-676, 7-677, 7-678, 7-679, 7-680, 7-681, 7-682, 7-683, 7-684, 7-685, 7-686, 7-687, 7-688, 7-689, 7-690, 7-691, 7-692, 7-693, 7-694, 7-695, 7-696, 7-697, 7-698, 7-699, 7-700, 7-701, 7-702, 7-703, 7-704, 7-705, 7-706, 7-707, 7-708, 7-709, 7-710, 7-711, 7-712, 7-713, 7-714, 7-715, 7-716, 7-717, 7-718, 7-719, 7-720, 7-721, 7-722, 7-723, 7-724, 7-725, 7-726, 7-727, 7-728, 7-729, 7-730, 7-731, 7-732, 7-733, 7-734, 7-735, 7-736, 7-737, 7-738, 7-739, 7-740, 7-741, 7-742, 7-743, 7-744, 7-745, 7-746, 7-747, 7-748, 7-749, 7-750, 7-751, 7-752, 7-753, 7-754, 7-755, 7-756, 7-757, 7-758, 7-759, 7-760, 7-761, 7-762, 7-763, 7-764, 7-765, 7-766, 7-767, 7-768, 7-769, 7-770, 7-771, 7-772, 7-773, 7-774, 7-775, 7-776, 7-777, 7-778, 7-779, 7-780, 7-781, 7-782, 7-783, 7-784, 7-785, 7-786, 7-787, 7-788, 7-789, 7-790, 7-791, 7-792, 7-793, 7-794, 7-795, 7-796, 7-797, 7-798, 7-799, 7-800, 7-801, 7-802, 7-803, 7-804, 7-805, 7-806, 7-807, 7-808, 7-809, 7-810, 7-811, 7-812, 7-813, 7-814, 7-815, 7-816, 7-817, 7-818, 7-819, 7-820, 7-821, 7-822, 7-823, 7-824, 7-825, 7-826, 7-827, 7-828, 7-829, 7-830, 7-831, 7-832, 7-833, 7-834, 7-835, 7-836, 7-837, 7-838, 7-839, 7-840, 7-841, 7-842, 7-843, 7-844, 7-845, 7-846, 7-847, 7-848, 7-849, 7-850, 7-851, 7-852, 7-853, 7-854, 7-855, 7-856, 7-857, 7-858, 7-859, 7-860, 7-861, 7-862, 7-863, 7-864, 7-865, 7-866, 7-867, 7-868, 7-869, 7-870, 7-871, 7-872, 7-873, 7-874, 7-875, 7-876, 7-877, 7-878, 7-879, 7-880, 7-881, 7-882, 7-883, 7-884, 7-885, 7-886, 7-887, 7-888, 7-889, 7-890, 7-891, 7-892, 7-893, 7-894, 7-895, 7-896, 7-897, 7-898, 7-899, 7-900, 7-901, 7-902, 7-903, 7-904, 7-905, 7-906, 7-907, 7-908, 7-909, 7-910, 7-911, 7-912, 7-913, 7-914, 7-915, 7-916, 7-917, 7-918, 7-919, 7-920, 7-921, 7-922, 7-923, 7-924, 7-925, 7-926, 7-927, 7-928, 7-929, 7-930, 7-931, 7-932, 7-933, 7-934, 7-935, 7-936, 7-937, 7-938, 7-939, 7-940, 7-941, 7-942, 7-943, 7-944, 7-945, 7-946, 7-947, 7-948, 7-949, 7-950, 7-951, 7-952, 7-953, 7-954, 7-955, 7-956, 7-957, 7-958, 7-959, 7-960, 7-961, 7-962, 7-963, 7-964, 7-965, 7-966, 7-967, 7-968, 7-969, 7-970, 7-971, 7-972, 7-973, 7-974, 7-975, 7-976, 7-977, 7-978, 7-979, 7-980, 7-981, 7-982, 7-983, 7-984, 7-985, 7-986, 7-987, 7-988, 7-989, 7-990, 7-991, 7-992, 7-993, 7-994, 7-995, 7-996, 7-997, 7-998, 7-999, 8-000, 8-001, 8-002, 8-003, 8-004, 8-005, 8-006, 8-007, 8-008, 8-009, 8-010, 8-011, 8-012, 8-013, 8-014, 8-015, 8-016, 8-017, 8-018, 8-019, 8-020, 8-021, 8-022, 8-023, 8-024, 8-025, 8-026, 8-027, 8-028, 8-029, 8-030, 8-031, 8-032, 8-033, 8-034, 8-035, 8-036, 8-037, 8-038, 8-039, 8-040, 8-041, 8-042, 8-043, 8-044, 8-045, 8-046, 8-047, 8-048, 8-049, 8-050, 8-051, 8-052, 8-053, 8-054, 8-055, 8-056, 8-057, 8-058, 8-059, 8-060, 8-061, 8-062, 8-063, 8-064, 8-065, 8-066, 8-067, 8-068, 8-069, 8-070, 8-071, 8-072, 8-073, 8-074, 8-075, 8-076, 8-077, 8-078, 8-079, 8-080, 8-081, 8-082, 8-083, 8-084, 8-085, 8-086, 8-087, 8-088, 8-089, 8-090, 8-091, 8-092, 8-093, 8-094, 8-095, 8-096, 8-097, 8-098, 8-099, 8-100, 8-101, 8-102, 8-103, 8-104, 8-105, 8-106, 8-107, 8-108, 8-109, 8-110, 8-111, 8-112, 8-113, 8-114, 8-115, 8-116, 8-117, 8-118, 8-119, 8-120, 8-121, 8-122, 8-123, 8-124, 8-125, 8-126, 8-127, 8-128, 8-129, 8-130, 8-131, 8-132, 8-133, 8-134, 8-135, 8-136, 8-137, 8-138, 8-139, 8-140, 8-141, 8-142, 8-143, 8-144, 8-145, 8-146, 8-147, 8-148, 8-149, 8-150, 8-151, 8-152, 8-153, 8-154, 8-155, 8-156, 8-157, 8-158, 8-159, 8-160, 8-161, 8-162, 8-163, 8-164, 8-165, 8-166, 8-167, 8-168, 8-169, 8-170, 8-171, 8-172, 8-173, 8-174, 8-175, 8-176, 8-177, 8-178, 8-179, 8-180, 8-181, 8-182, 8-183, 8-184, 8-185, 8-186, 8-187, 8-188, 8-189, 8-190, 8-191, 8-192, 8-193, 8-194, 8-195, 8-196, 8-197, 8-198, 8-199, 8-200, 8-201, 8-202, 8-203, 8-204, 8-205, 8-206, 8-207, 8-208, 8-209, 8-210, 8-211, 8-212, 8-213, 8-214, 8-215, 8-216, 8-217, 8-218, 8-219, 8-220, 8-221, 8-222, 8-223, 8-224, 8-225, 8-226, 8-227, 8-228, 8-229, 8-230, 8-231, 8-232, 8-233, 8-234, 8-235, 8-236, 8-237, 8-238, 8-239, 8-240, 8-241, 8-242, 8-243, 8-244, 8-245, 8-246, 8-247, 8-248, 8-249, 8-250, 8-251, 8-252, 8-253, 8-254, 8-255, 8-256, 8-257, 8-258, 8-259, 8-260, 8-261, 8-262, 8-263, 8-264, 8-265, 8-266, 8-267, 8-268, 8-269, 8-270, 8-271, 8-272, 8-273, 8-274, 8-275, 8-276, 8-277, 8-278, 8-279, 8-280, 8-281, 8-282, 8-283, 8-284, 8-285, 8-286, 8-287, 8-288, 8-289, 8-290, 8-291, 8-292, 8-293, 8-294, 8-295, 8-296, 8-297, 8-298, 8-299, 8-300, 8-301, 8-302, 8-303, 8-304, 8-305, 8-306, 8-307, 8-308, 8-309, 8-310, 8-311, 8-312, 8-313, 8-314, 8-315, 8-316, 8-317, 8-318, 8-319, 8-320, 8-321, 8-322, 8-323, 8-324, 8-325, 8-326, 8-327, 8-328, 8-329, 8-330, 8-331, 8-332, 8-333, 8-334, 8-335, 8-336, 8-337, 8-338, 8-339, 8-340, 8-341, 8-342, 8-343, 8-344, 8-345, 8-346, 8-347, 8-348, 8-349, 8-350, 8-351, 8-352, 8-353, 8-354, 8-355, 8-356, 8-357, 8-358, 8-359, 8-360, 8-361, 8-362, 8-363, 8-364, 8-365, 8-366, 8-367, 8-368, 8-369, 8-370, 8-371, 8-372, 8-373, 8-374, 8-375, 8-376, 8-377, 8-378, 8-379, 8-380, 8-381, 8-382, 8-383, 8-384, 8-385, 8-386, 8-387, 8-388, 8-389, 8-390, 8-391, 8-392, 8-393, 8-394, 8-395, 8-396, 8-397, 8-398, 8-399, 8-400, 8-401, 8-402, 8-403, 8-404, 8-405, 8-406, 8-407, 8-408, 8-409, 8-410, 8-411, 8-412, 8-413, 8-414, 8-415, 8-416, 8-417, 8-418, 8-419, 8-420, 8-421, 8-422, 8-423, 8-424, 8-425, 8-426, 8-427, 8-428, 8-429, 8-430, 8-431, 8-432, 8-433, 8-434, 8-435, 8-436, 8-437, 8-438, 8-439, 8-440, 8-441, 8-442, 8-443, 8-444, 8-445, 8-446, 8-447, 8-448, 8-449, 8-450, 8-451, 8-452, 8-453, 8-454, 8-455, 8-456, 8-457, 8-458, 8-459, 8-460, 8-461, 8-462, 8-463, 8-464, 8-465, 8-466, 8-467, 8-468, 8-469, 8-470, 8-471, 8-472, 8-473, 8-474, 8-475, 8-476, 8-477, 8-478, 8-479, 8-480, 8-481, 8-482, 8-483, 8-484, 8-485, 8-486, 8-487, 8-488, 8-489, 8-490, 8-491, 8-492, 8-493, 8-494, 8-495, 8-496, 8-497, 8-498, 8-499, 8-500, 8-501, 8-502, 8-503, 8-504, 8-505, 8-506, 8-507, 8-508, 8-509, 8-510, 8-511, 8-512, 8-513, 8-514, 8-515, 8-516, 8-517, 8-518, 8-519, 8-520, 8-521, 8-522, 8-523, 8-524, 8-525, 8-526, 8-527, 8-528, 8-529, 8-530, 8-531, 8-532, 8-533, 8-534, 8-535, 8-536, 8-537, 8-538, 8-539, 8-540, 8-541, 8-542, 8-543, 8-544, 8-545, 8-546, 8-547, 8-548, 8-549, 8-550, 8-551, 8-552, 8-553, 8-554, 8-555, 8-556, 8-557, 8-558, 8-559, 8-560, 8-561, 8-562, 8-563, 8-564, 8-565, 8-566, 8-567, 8-568, 8-569, 8-570, 8-571, 8-572, 8-573, 8-574, 8-575, 8-576, 8-577, 8-578, 8-579, 8-580, 8-581, 8-582, 8-583, 8-584, 8-585, 8-586, 8-587, 8-588, 8-589, 8-590, 8-591, 8-592, 8-593, 8-594, 8-595, 8-596, 8-597, 8-598, 8-599, 8-600, 8-601, 8-602, 8-603, 8-604, 8-605, 8-606, 8-607, 8-608, 8-609, 8-610, 8-611, 8-612, 8-613, 8-614, 8-615, 8-616, 8-617, 8-618, 8-619, 8-620, 8-621, 8-622, 8-623, 8-624, 8-625, 8-626, 8-627, 8-628, 8-629, 8-630, 8-631, 8-632, 8-633, 8-634, 8-635, 8-636, 8-637, 8-638, 8-639, 8-640, 8-641, 8-642, 8-643, 8-644, 8-645, 8-646, 8-647, 8-648, 8-649, 8-650, 8-651, 8-652, 8-653, 8-654, 8-655, 8-656, 8-657, 8-658, 8-659, 8-660, 8-661, 8-662, 8-663, 8-664, 8-665, 8-666, 8-667, 8-668, 8-669, 8-670, 8-671, 8-672, 8-673, 8-674, 8-675, 8-676, 8-677, 8-678, 8-679, 8-680, 8-681, 8-682, 8-683, 8-684, 8-685, 8-686, 8-687, 8-688, 8-689, 8-690, 8-691, 8-692, 8-693, 8-694, 8-695, 8-696, 8-697, 8-698, 8-699, 8-700, 8-701, 8-702, 8-703, 8-704, 8-705, 8-706, 8-707, 8-708, 8-709, 8-710, 8-711, 8-712, 8-713, 8-714, 8-715, 8-716, 8-717, 8-718, 8-719, 8-720, 8-721, 8-722, 8-723, 8-724



Table 7.13 shows that having contacts with English Canadians affects the manner in which respondents react to their political influence. French Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who have contacts with English Canadians are less likely than are those who do not, to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence.

Table 7.13

Percent who Feel that English Canadians
Try to Gain Too Much Political Influence*

	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
Have contacts with English Canadians	54.5 (4504)	15.9 (2553)	21.5 (1176)
Do not have contacts with English Canadians	63.5 (1433)	22.1 (852)	30.6 (79)

* For a more detailed table, see Tome III, Table No. F-252.

Another index of interethnic contacts is the knowledge which people have of the language of other ethnic groups. Does it matter in the way they react to French Canadian political influence and demands whether English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" speak French or not?

Table 7.14 shows that to speak French has consequences in the way English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" react to the political influence and the demands of French Canadians. English Canadians and Canadians who speak French are less prone than are those who do not, to feel that French Canadians try to gain too much political influence, ask for too much, should be treated like any minority group and to think that the French Canadians should blame themselves for their own troubles. Among "Others", speaking French has neither a strong effect nor is it as consistent in the way respondents react to French Canadian political influence and demands.

Reactions to the Political Influence and Demands of
French Canadians by Ethnicity and Knowledge of the French Language

	E.C. Speak French		CANADIANS Speak French		OTHERS Speak French	
	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %
French Canadians try to gain too much influence	48.1 (3238)	71.4 (6643)	41.0 (1394)	70.3 (1806)	66.7 (562)	68.4 (495)
French Canadians ask for more than they have a right to expect	59.3 (3250)	74.4 (6484)	49.6 (1283)	73.8 (1623)	58.8 (571)	64.3 (700)
French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other ethnicity group	54.8 (3499)	75.6 (7316)	47.5 (1432)	76.6 (1862)	71.6 (635)	75.3 (444)
What French Canadians complain about is mostly their own	53.0 (3348)	56.6 (6381)	46.2 (1324)	60.1 (1622)	58.5 (536)	71.6 (444)

* For more detailed tables, see Tome III, Tables Nos. F-233, F-263, F-271, F-303.

Whether French Canadians speak or do not speak English has little effect on the way they react to English Canadian political influence. However, French Canadians who speak English without any difficulty react to English Canadian political influence quite unlike other French Canadians. (1)

(1) The reader who wishes to know how their degree of fluency in French affects the reactions of English, Canadians and "Others" to the political influence and the demands of French Canadians may consult the detailed tables presented in this report. Generally speaking how well respondents speak another language is more important concerning the reactions of French Canadians to English political influence than it is concerning the reactions of other people to French Canadian political influence and demands.

Table 7.15

Percent French Canadians who Feel that English
Canadians Try to Gain Too Much Political Influence

Speak English without any difficulty	47.6%
Others	62.1%

B. The Future of English-French Relations

Do the contacts that respondents have outside their own ethnic communities affect their feelings about the future of English-French relations? Table 7.16 shows that they do. English Canadians and Canadians who know or meet French Canadians are more likely to view the future of English-French relations with optimism. Having contacts with French Canadians, however, makes no difference among

Table 7.16

Percent Optimist by Ethnic Groups and Contacts⁽¹⁾
with French Canadians or English Canadians*

a. Contacts with French Canadians			
	E.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
Know or meet French Canadians	51.7 (8423)	54.3 (1753)	43.3 (1132)
Does not know or meet French Canadians	42.9 (2128)	31.9 (730)	44.6 (526)
b. Contacts with English Canadians			
	F.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
Know or meet English Canadians	63.3 (5253)	49.9 (3191)	43.1 (1597)
Does not know or meet English Canadians	50.5 (1774)	47.3 (292)	** (96)

* For more detailed tables, see Tome III, Tables Nos. 7-503, 70719.

** Too few cases to warrant percentaging.

(1) The question which respondents were asked referred both to present and past contacts with English Canadians or French Canadians.

that 1961 respondents who do not know or meet French Canadians are more optimistic than are respondents who do. Among French Canadians having contacts with English Canadians is somewhat greater optimism. Among Canadians and "Others" optimism does not vary depending on whether the respondents know or meet English Canadians.

Table 7.17 shows that French Canadians who speak English are more optimistic about English-French relations than are those who do not speak English. Among English Canadians and Canadians who speak both languages optimism is higher among respondents who speak French.

Table 7.17

Percent Who Feel that English-French Relations Will
Get Better in Five or Six Years by Ethnicity and
Knowledge of English and French*

Know French	E.C. %	CANADIANS %	OTHERS %
Yes	60.0 (3560)	58.3 (1467)	46.6 (613)
No	44.9 (7578)	43.5 (1938)	47.4 (854)
Speak English		F.C. %	
Yes		65.4 (5666)	
No		48.8 (1921)	

* For a more detailed table, see Tome III, Table No. 1, p. 11.



Chances of interethnic contacts are not the same in all parts of Canada. In Quebec, where French Canadians represent the majority of the population, people of other ethnic groups have more chances of knowing or meeting French Canadians than they have in other provinces. In a predominantly French province the chances are greater as well that English Canadians and "Others" will speak French. In the same way, French Canadians have more chances of meeting people of other ethnic groups if they live outside of Quebec. There are also greater pressures that are put on them to speak English. We have seen that interethnic contacts affect one's attitudes. We should also find differences in attitudes between people who have different chances of being familiar with the way of life, attitudes and problems of other ethnic groups.

The reactions of English Canadians and other Canadians to the political influence of French Canadians and their demands are expected to vary depending on where they live in Canada. Differences should be found between the reactions of French Canadians to the political influence of English Canadians and to their own political influence and demands depending on whether they live in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada.

4. Political Influence of English Canadians on French Canadians

Table 7.13 shows that as far as the attempts at political influence of English Canadians are concerned we do observe regional differences, but, in general, the differences are small. There is no exception: French Canadians who live in Quebec are much more hostile than are those who live elsewhere to disapproval of the attempts of English Canadians to gain political influence.



On the other hand, Table 7.18 shows that the reactions of respondents to the political influence and the demands of French Canadians vary a great deal from one region to the other. English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who live in Quebec are much less prone than are those living elsewhere to feel that French Canadians try to gain too much political influence in Canada. They are somewhat less prone as well to feel that French Canadians ask for too much and that they should expect to be treated like any other minority group. We observe also that English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who live in the Maritimes and the Prairies are the most likely to disapprove French Canadian political influence and demands. As for French Canadians, we find that if they live in Quebec they are much less prone to disapprove of their political influence and demands than if they live elsewhere.

Finally, it is worth noticing that despite the differentiating effect of region, ethnicity remains a powerful influence on the reactions of respondents. Irrespective of the region where they live, French Canadians react quite unlike the rest of respondents of other ethnic groups to the political influence of English Canadians, their own political influence and their demands.

B. The Future of English-French Relations

We have just seen that English Canadians and "Others" who live in Quebec are less likely to disapprove of French Canadian political influence and demands than are those living elsewhere in Canada. They should be more optimistic as well about English-French relations. One would expect, indeed, that it is among those English, Canadians and "Others" who are least likely to disapprove of French Canadian political influence and demand that there is least apprehension concerning the future of English-French relations. Table 7.19 shows that English Canadians, Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who live in Quebec are a good more optimistic about English-French relations than are those who live elsewhere. As for French Canadians, with the exception of those living in the Maritimes they tend to be quite optimistic irrespective of where they live in Canada.

Table 7.21

How Well They Feel that English-French Relations
Will Get Better in Five or Six Years by Ethnicity and Region*

	B.C. %	P.C. %	CANADIENS %	Quebec %
Immense	37.3 (1601)	47.0 (433)	36.9 (260)	9.4 (14)
Good	69.5 (757)	60.3 (552)	64.1 (415)	38.6 (256)
Ontario	50.6 (4774)	64.7 (795)	44.7 (1570)	41.8 (295)
Prairies	49.3 (4019)	63.5 (271)	49.6 (1238)	41.5 (792)

* For a more detailed table, see Tome III, Table No. F-215.

** Too few cases to warrant percentaging.

Variations Within Each Ethnic Group by Numerical Dominance in Electoral District

We have just seen that depending on whether they live in Quebec or elsewhere English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" react quite differently to the political influence and demands of French Canadians. In turn, we have shown that French Canadians who live in Quebec react to the political influence of English Canadians quite unlike French Canadians who live elsewhere than in Quebec. We suggest that these regional differences could be understood to result from differences in interethnic contacts. But they could be understood, as well, from a different angle.

The balance of numerical power between ethnic groups in Quebec is quite different from what it is elsewhere. In Quebec French Canadians constitute a strong majority. English Canadians and "Others" are minorities. In other provinces we have other patterns of ethnic dominance: English Canadians are majorities and sometimes "Others"

This raises the question of whether the reactions to ethnic behavior may depend on which group dominates? To propose to answer this question using a classification of electoral districts on whether the English Canadians, the French Canadians, or the "Others" constitute the numerically dominant ethnic group.

A. The Political Influence of English and French Canadians and the Demands of French Canadians

Table 7.20 shows that in those areas where they are numerically dominant French Canadians are more prone to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence than they are when they occupy a minority position. Unlike the reactions of French Canadians, the reactions of English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" to the political influence of English Canadians are much the same no matter which ethnic group dominates.

We observe also that English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" tend to be much less prone to disapprove of French Canadian political influence and demands if they live in areas where French Canadians are numerically dominant. In other words, English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" are less inclined to disapprove of French Canadian behavior if they occupy vis-à-vis the French Canadians a minority position.

Finally Table 7.20 shows that it is where they are the majority that French Canadians are least likely to disapprove of their own political influence and demands. Not less interesting as this other finding: it is in those electoral districts where they are the majority that we find the largest proportions of English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who disapprove of the political influence and the demands of French Canadians.

Table 7.7 (continued)

c. The Legends of French Canadians

	E.C.		P.O.		CANADIENS		F.R.E.S.			
French Canadian are taking the rest of Canada for their own and are a threat to Canada	66.5 (5063)	75.3 (506)	69.0 (449)	57.8 (5245)	61.2 (1448)	46.5 (327)	84.3 (242)	57.7 (315)	50.5 (185)	52.6 (150)
French Canadian are expected to be treated like any other minority group	59.3 (521)	75.3 (592)	69.0 (449)	57.8 (5245)	61.2 (1448)	46.5 (327)	84.3 (242)	57.7 (315)	50.5 (185)	52.6 (150)
What French Canadians should expect for merely their own	49.4 (4994)	45.6 (507)	39.0 (390)	34.1 (4681)	33.1 (1321)	31.1 (296)	31.1 (192)	31.1 (451)	31.1 (185)	31.1 (150)

Attitudes of English-Speaking Canadians

Canadian-born English-Speaking respondents are stronger among English Canadians. Canadians and "Quebecers" who are associated with are favoured by French Canadians. Table 7.1 shows that as far as French Canadian respondents are concerned they tend to be more equally optimistic about English-French relations when they live in an area which they dominate or when other ethnic groups dominate.

Table 7.1

Percent Who Feel that English-French Relations
Will Get Better in the Next Five or Six Years

	E.C. %	F.C. %	CANADIAN %	Quebec %
English Dominant	48.0 (58/6)	53.6 (453)	51.7 (135)	5 (34)
French Dominant	65.5 (521)	59.7 (517)	63.0 (226)	51.7 (100)
Other Dominant	57.4 (610)	* (60)	48.2 (234)	44.1 (100)

*No base cases to warrant percentaging.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have looked at the reactions of respondents of various ethnic categories to the political attitudes of English and French Canadians, the demands of French Canadians, and the feelings of respondents regarding the future of English-French relations. We can summarize our findings in the following way:

1. French Canadians are more prone than are respondents of other ethnic categories to feel that English Canadians try to exert too much influence in the political affairs of Canada. However, French Canadians are divided as to the influence of the political influence of English Canadians. They are

Canadians feel that English Canadians are not trying to gain more political influence than it is proper for them to have. Zenits, the reactions of French Canadians depend on their social characteristics.

a. The more educated and the wealthier they are, the less French Canadians feel that English Canadians try to gain too much influence.

b. The younger French Canadians are, the less they feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence.

c. French Canadians who have contacts with English Canadians are less prone than are those who do not, to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence.

d. French Canadians who live outside Quebec and in areas where English Canadians are the majority are less likely than those who live in Quebec and in French dominated areas to feel that English Canadians try to gain too much political influence. French Canadians react to the political influence of English Canadians quite unlike other people in Canada, but they do not react in a monolithic fashion.

2. French Canadians are less prone than are English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" to feel that their own group tries to gain too much political influence; they are also less prone to disapprove of the demands of their own group. This was expected. More unexpected, however, are the noticeable variations that we have found in the reactions of English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" to the political influence and demands of French Canadians.

a. The more educated they are, the less English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" are likely to disapprove of French Canadian political influence and demands. To some extent this is also the case when we compare income groups.

b. The younger English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" are, the less likely they are to disapprove of French Canadian political influence and demands.

a. English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who have contacts with French Canadians are less prone than those who do not to disapprove of the political influence and the demands of French Canadians that they have contacts with French Canadians.

b. English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" who live in Quebec or in areas where the French are the majority react much more favorably to French Canadian political influence and demands than do those who live elsewhere than in Quebec or in areas where they occupy a majority position vis-à-vis the French.

Some of the last findings are important concerning the possible outcome of the dialogue between ethnic groups. Among English Canadians, Canadians and "Others" it is those people who are or will be in positions of power and influence -- the educated, the rich and the young -- who show the greatest acceptance of French Canadian political influence and demands. These people are more optimistic as well regarding the future of English-French relations. This says a lot about the chances which French Canadians have of gaining political influence and improving their position in Canadian society. Reciprocally there is also a greater acceptance of the political behavior of English Canadians among the more educated, richer and younger French Canadians. Such attitudes within the two racial groups should facilitate dialogue and understanding.

CHAPITRE 2

SE RAPPORTANT À L'UNITÉ CANADIENNE

Depuis quelques années, un certain nombre de Canadiens ont soulevé des questions par rapport à l'avenir de leur pays. Ces questions, ayant tantôt à voir avec l'unité du pays, tantôt avec son intégration avec les États-Unis, et tantôt avec l'utilisation de capitaux étrangers à l'intérieur du pays, formeront la base de la discussion de ce chapitre. En plus et comme complément à ces questions nous examinerons certaines dimensions du régionalisme et de la mobilité régionale.

1

1.1. UNION AVEC LES ÉTATS-UNIS

À la question: "Êtes-vous ou non en faveur que le Canada et les États-Unis deviennent un seul pays?", 21.1% des personnes interrogées se disent favorables alors que 64.3% se déclarent non-favorables; les autres sont ou bien indécis ou indifférents. (voir Q. 3-71, p. M-79). En interprétant le 21.1% ci-haut mentionné, le lecteur devrait tenir compte du fait que 94.1% des répondants trouvent que plus d'effort devrait être fait en vue d'améliorer l'unité nationale. Par ailleurs nous avons observé assez peu de différence entre les groupes ethniques: en effet les pourcentages pour chacun des différents groupes varient entre 19% et 25% seulement.

Si la majorité des répondants de toutes origines se déclarent défavorables à une union politique du Canada avec les États-Unis, 50.9% d'entre eux favorisent pourtant une union économique entre les deux pays et 28.7% seulement se disent défavorables. D'autre part, 41.8% des répondants sont indécis ou voient des aspects favorables et défavorables à la fois dans une telle union et 8% n'ont pas d'opinion ou sont indifférents. (Voir Q. 3-72, p. M-79).

une question qui est d'être que les efforts devraient se faire pour améliorer le pays. Nous présenterons maintenant quelques observations ayant trait à la mobilité régionale. Ces faits peuvent être intéressants à la connaissance que les Canadiens ont de leur pays et peuvent contribuer à comprendre certains de leurs attitudes par rapport au problème de l'intégration Canadienne. Nous examinerons la mobilité régionale sous les aspects suivants:

- a) les Canadiens ont-ils, dans le passé, vécu ailleurs dans le pays, que dans la province où ils résident actuellement?
- b) ont-ils des parents hors de cette province?
- c) sont-ils prêts à aller vivre dans d'autres provinces?

Comme il fallait s'y attendre, une proportion importante de gens n'ont jamais résidé dans une autre province que celle dans laquelle ils résident actuellement; 69.2% des Canadiens au Canada (69.2% vs 30.6%).⁽¹⁾

Peu surprenantes aussi sont les différences entre les groupes ethniques: les Canadiens anglais sont plus mobiles que les Canadiens français. (35.7% vs 17.6%). Ceux-ci, tout probablement à cause de la langue, peuvent moins facilement se déplacer d'une province à l'autre que les personnes de langue anglaise. Les autres groupes ethniques sont entre ces deux groupes, mais leur degré de mobilité est plus semblable à celui des Canadiens anglais qu'à celui des Canadiens français (29.1%).

Quant aux Canadiens tout court, ce sont vraiment eux qui sont les plus mobiles à l'échelle du pays. Mais les différences ethniques sont ici les mêmes que celles qui existent pour l'identification ethnique.

(1) Voir Q. 2-70, p. M-50.

Portons-nous aux 30% de nos répondants qui sont nés hors du Québec. Ces personnes ont eu tendance à résider principalement dans une autre province soitement (45.9%), mais un peu plus de tiers d'entre elles ont vécu dans plus d'une autre province: 17.8% ont vécu dans trois provinces et 12.3% dans plus de trois provinces. (voir Q. 2-74, p. M-51).

Nos résultats laissent apparaître des différences entre les Canadiens anglais et les autres groupes ethniques sur ce point. En effet, 43% des Canadiens anglais ont vécu dans trois provinces et plus. Il n'y en a que 26% parmi les Canadiens français et 24% parmi l'ensemble des autres groupes.

Nos résultats montrent donc que les Canadiens français ont moins tendance que les autres citoyens à se déplacer d'une province à l'autre. Y a-t-il une proportion importante des autres citoyens qui aient résidé dans la province de Québec?

Le tableau 8.2 nous révèle que ce sont les Canadiens français des autres provinces qui sont le plus venus au Québec.

Venons-en maintenant à la résidence des proches parents qui devrait vraisemblablement coïncider avec ce que nous venons d'observer concernant la résidence des répondants eux-mêmes.

Plus de la moitié des répondants (56%) ont dit avoir des proches parents résidant ailleurs que dans la province où eux-mêmes vivent actuellement (voir Q. 2-75, p. M-53).

De même que les Canadiens anglais sont les plus mobiles, ils sont aussi ceux qui ont le plus de parents résidant dans d'autres provinces que la leur. Par ailleurs, les Canadiens français sont ceux qui ont le moins de parents vivant hors de la province où ils résident. Ce sont eux, d'ailleurs, qui se sont le moins déplacés à travers le Canada.

1.3 Régionalisme

Nous savons que 50% des Canadiens ont déjà vécu ailleurs que dans la province où ils résident à l'heure actuelle et que plus de la moitié ont des proches parents hors de leur province de résidence.

Ces observations portent sur la mobilité de fait des gens. Elles ne disent rien sur la préférence pour une autre province où ils aimeraient vivre. A cette fin nous avons posé la question suivante: "A part la province où vous vivez actuellement quelle est l'autre ou les autres provinces du Canada où vous aimeriez le plus vivre?"

Notons immédiatement que 43% des répondants répondent qu'ils n'aimeraient pas aller vivre dans une autre province du Canada. Par contre, la province la plus choisie (21% de la population) est la Colombie Britannique. Les autres choix portent sur l'Ontario (plus de 9%), Manitoba, Saskatchewan ou Alberta (entre 7.7% et 8%). Seulement 5% aimeraient aller vivre au Québec. Autant (4%) aimeraient aller vivre dans une autre province que la leur ou affectée par le nombre de personnes dans notre échantillon ne vivant pas déjà dans cette province). Les Canadiens français sont ceux qui, comme nous pouvons nous y attendre, sont le moins prêts à aller vivre

1.4 L'Avenir Politique du Canada

La présente section est consacrée à l'analyse des questions portant sur la solution préférée par les répondants en ce qui concerne les destinées politiques du Canada et en particulier au désir de la séparation politique de la province de Québec.

Nous avons demandé à la population quelle solution elle préférerait pour le système politique de la province de Québec. On a constaté que la position de la province de Québec dans la Constitution devrait rester la même. Mais le quart (soit 24.2%) prétendait que le gouvernement fédéral devrait avoir plus de contrôle qu'il en a actuellement sur la province de Québec. Très peu pensent que le gouvernement fédéral devrait avoir moins de contrôle qu'il en a actuellement (0.2%) et encore moins sont favorables à la séparation de Québec du reste du Canada (3.4%) (voir Q. 3-69, p. M-78).

Ces tendances pour un niveau de l'ensemble des Canadiens, mais dans un sens que le Québec a, depuis nombre d'années, obtenu le même statut. Nous devrions donc nous attendre à ce que les Canadiens français se dirigent vers une plus grande centralisation de contrôle à Ottawa. En fait, la situation la plus souvent préférée, quel que soit le groupe ethnique, est que la position de Québec reste la même, au sein de la Constitution. Cependant, les Canadiens français sont légèrement moins prêts que les autres à considérer cette solution comme la plus souhaitable. (Voir Q. 3-69, p. M-78 ou le Tableau 8.3).

Les données révèlent d'autre part que les Canadiens français sont plus favorables que les autres à une diminution du contrôle exercé par le gouvernement fédéral. Mais il est très intéressant de noter que les Canadiens français, pas plus que les autres, ne privilégient la séparation du Québec du reste du Canada. Enfin, comme nous pourrions nous y attendre, ils favorisent moins que les autres une centralisation plus grande du pouvoir fédéral.

123, par Groupes Éthniques, des Solutions

Que la province se sépare
du reste du Canada.

Que le gouvernement fédéral ait
plus de contrôle sur la province
de Québec

Que le gouvernement fédéral ait
moins de contrôle sur la province
de Québec

Que la position de la province
de Québec dans la Confédération
reste la même

Donc, en tout:

	Total	50.2	1.4	0.0	0.8	3.5
	14.0	4.6	2.4	0.0	0.8	3.5
	34.4	14.1	30.7	3.2	12.7	71.8
	3.5	16.5	1.9	23.1	4.6	5.9
	44.1	31.0	41.0	24.3	14.8	50.0
	5.1	3.7	2.8	2.2	2.2	2.2
	(11170)	(7048)	(3082)	(182)	(237)	(1855)

... à l'égard de la question de la séparation des groupes ethniques, les Canadiens français ont une attitude plus favorable que les autres groupes ethniques. Les Canadiens français sont, mais légèrement, plus favorables que les autres à ce sujet (15% vs 9.7% et 12%).

Quant à l'attitude par rapport à la séparation des groupes ethniques au Canada, on trouve qu'une forte majorité s'y oppose (80.3%). (Voir Q. 3-74, p. II-80).

La différence entre les groupes ethniques est encore plus marquée à l'égard de la séparation des groupes ethniques au Canada. Les Canadiens français se sont plus que les autres opposés à cette séparation que ne le sont les autres groupes ethniques. Les Canadiens français sont, mais légèrement, plus favorables que les autres à ce sujet (15% vs 9.7% et 12%).

En ce qui concerne la question de la séparation des groupes ethniques au Canada, les Canadiens français ont une attitude plus favorable que les autres groupes ethniques. Les Canadiens français sont, mais légèrement, plus favorables que les autres à ce sujet (15% vs 9.7% et 12%).

Quant aux personnes qui se sont opposées à la séparation des groupes ethniques au Canada, on trouve qu'une forte majorité s'y oppose (80.3%). (Voir Q. 3-74, p. II-80).

À cette question, 80.5% se disent opposés à la séparation des groupes ethniques au Canada. Les Canadiens français ont une attitude plus favorable que les autres groupes ethniques. Les Canadiens français sont, mais légèrement, plus favorables que les autres à ce sujet (15% vs 9.7% et 12%). (Voir Q. 3-74, p. II-80).

1.5 Attitudes vis-à-vis les Canadiens Français

Être favorables ou non au gouvernement, proposer un contrôle plus ou moins grand du gouvernement fédéral sur la province du Québec, ou se dire favorables ou défavorables à la rupture entre le Québec et les autres provinces canadiennes ne nous informe que partiellement sur le fait que l'on soit favorable ou non aux Canadiens français. Nous possédons déjà cependant l'indice d'une insatisfaction de la part des Canadiens non français puisqu'une proportion assez considérable d'entre eux proposent un contrôle plus grand de la part du gouvernement fédéral sur le Québec. A ce dernier propos, nous apporterons maintenant quelques données, en consultant les réponses données à cette question posée sur les opinions des répondants quant à la façon de vivre des Canadiens français et au problème de la séparation des écoles maternelles et primaires situées hors du Québec.

A. La Façon de Vivre des Canadiens Français

A la question: "Pensez-vous que les Canadiens français devraient s'efforcer de conserver leur façon de vivre ou qu'ils devraient vivre davantage comme le reste des Canadiens?" 44% de répondants français se disent s'efforçant de conserver leur façon de vivre. Des opinions nuancées ont aussi été exprimées: 18% disant qu'ils devraient conserver leur façon de vivre si elle ne nuit pas au reste des Canadiens et 3.9% affirment qu'ils peuvent assimiler leur façon de vivre tout en vivant davantage comme les autres. (Voir Q. 3-77, p. M-81).

Si une proportion élevée de Canadiens, de chaque des groupes ethniques prétendent que les Canadiens français devraient davantage vivre comme le reste des Canadiens, 23% seulement des Canadiens français se disent de cet avis et 47% d'entre eux affirment que leur propre groupe devrait s'efforcer de conserver sa façon de

B. La Question Scolaire

Du sentiment exprimé sur la façon générale de vivre des Canadiens français, passons à un problème plus concret relié à ce sentiment, à savoir: la subvention par les gouvernements provinciaux des écoles françaises situées hors du Québec. Ce sujet a suscité beaucoup de discussions au Québec et parmi les minorités françaises des autres provinces. Nous essaierons de voir si les Canadiens n'ont pas en général un caractère français ou catholique des écoles.

Nous avons demandé aux répondants: "Pensez-vous que les gouvernements provinciaux devraient subventionner les écoles catholiques françaises à l'usage des Canadiens français qui vivent en dehors du Québec?" Les résultats sont les suivants: 29% se disent favorables et 9% se disent favorables "si les Canadiens français sont assez nombreux". (Voir Q. 1-66, p. 11-26).

Sur ce point les Canadiens français divergent d'opinion avec les autres groupes ethniques. En effet, 60% d'entre eux sont favorables à ces subventions, alors que les Canadiens anglais (14%) ainsi que l'ensemble des autres groupes ethniques (22%) le sont beaucoup moins. La majorité des gens qui ne sont pas de langue française, en fait, s'opposent à ces écoles. Il n'y a donc que les Canadiens français qui soient vraiment favorables à la subvention de ces écoles.

La question précédente comprend deux éléments: l'aspect catholique et un aspect canado-français. Nous ne savons pas si les répondants sont défavorables ou favorables à l'un ou à l'autre aspect de cette question. Si les deux groupes ethniques principaux se sont souvent retrouvés comme antagonistes sur le plan ethnique, il y a eu aussi dans le passé, au sein de certaines provinces, sur

canadiennes-françaises. Pour nous rendre compte de l'importance de l'un ou de l'autre de ces aspects, nous examinerons les réponses à la question suivante:

"Si ces écoles n'étaient pas des écoles catholiques, pensez-vous que les gouvernements provinciaux devraient subventionner des écoles françaises à l'usage des Canadiens français qui vivent en dehors du Québec?"

La proportion des gens qui sont favorables à la subvention des écoles canadiennes-françaises non-catholiques par groupe ethnique est présentée dans le Tableau 8.4. Ce tableau permet de faire une comparaison avec les attitudes des répondants quant aux subventions gouvernementales à des écoles canadiennes-françaises et catholiques.

Pour l'ensemble de l'échantillon la non-catholicité ne fait aucune différence. Toutefois, on observe que les Canadiens anglais et les "autres" sont légèrement plus favorables à des subventions gouvernementales quand les écoles canadiennes-françaises ne sont pas catholiques (une différence d'à peu près 5%). Quant aux Canadiens français, c'est l'inverse que l'on observe: il y a environ 5% de plus qui favorisent des subventions à des écoles canadiennes-françaises si celles-ci sont catholiques.

Tableau 8.4

Attitudes quant aux Subventions Gouvernementales
aux Écoles Canadiennes-Françaises Catholiques ou Non-Catholiques

	C.A. %	C.F. %	AUTRES %	TOTAL %
A. Favorable à des subventions à des écoles canadiennes- françaises <u>et</u> catholiques	21.2	74.1	27.5	38.0
B. Favorables à des subventions à des écoles canadiennes- françaises <u>seulement</u>	26.6	69.3	32.0	40.1
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(23459)

4
Canadiens

Notons toutefois que la principale différence est entre les Canadiens français et tous les autres: les premiers favorisent les divisions confessionnelles, les derniers s'y opposent dans une forte majorité.

Une autre question dont l'intention était d'éliminer l'élément financier de la question précédente, a été posée aux membres de l'échantillon. Cette question se lit comme suit:

"S'il fallait faire un choix, pensez-vous que ce serait mieux pour le Canada que les écoles soient divisées en écoles catholiques et non-catholiques ou divisées en écoles françaises et anglaises?"

La distribution des réponses par groupe ethnique apparaît au tableau 8.5. On observe d'abord que 5.2% des Canadiens français refusent de faire un choix entre une division confessionnelle et une division ethnique alors que 30.7% et 28.2% des Canadiens anglais et des "Autres" respectivement refusent de faire ce choix.

Tableau 8.5

Choix entre Ecoles Confessionnelles et Ecoles Ethniques

	C.A. %	C.F. %	AUTRES %
Favorisent une ou l'autre division	51.9	78.6	56.5
Ne favorisent pas une division	30.7 (11170)*	5.9 (7054)*	26.5 (1693)*
Préférences de ceux qui favorisent une division:			
Division en écoles catholiques et non-catholiques	42.6	35.6	47.5
Division en écoles françaises et anglaises	33.3	37.2	29.4
Les deux divisions sont aussi importantes	24.1 (5197)	27.2 (5545)	23.1 (990)

* Tableau partiel. Le tableau complet apparaît à la p. 15-21.

Dans la deuxième partie du Tableau, les proportions des personnes appartenant aux différents groupes ethniques, en fonction de la Coe, sont présentées pour les répondants qui ont fait ce choix seulement. Ce tableau ne révèle pas de différences importantes entre les trois catégories ethniques. Il y a une légère tendance de la part des Canadiens anglais et des Français à préférer la Coe ethnique; mais il n'y a pas là une différence marquée.

II

Plutôt que de nous en tenir uniquement aux différences d'attitudes sur l'unité canadienne et la présence française, c'est-à-dire l'éthnicité, nous ajoutons avec cette deuxième partie les facteurs que nous avons jusqu'ici négligés, principalement des motifs socio-économiques, certaines caractéristiques individuelles et les contacts entre groupes ethniques. Car il est à prévoir qu'en plus de trouver des différences entre les groupes ethniques, nous en trouverons entre classes sociales ou régions. Il est bien possible que des différences observées entre les groupes ethniques soient partiellement expliquées par celles qui existent par exemple, entre classes sociales.

Vu le nombre considérable de questions discutées dans ce chapitre, les résultats de cette partie seront présentés de façon sommaire.⁽¹⁾ Seulement les principales variations selon le statut socio-économique, la région, le bilinguisme et l'âge seront présentées. Il sera ainsi plus facile d'avoir une vue d'ensemble.

(1) Ces sections se rapportent à cette partie et trouvent leur place dans le Tome III.

la plupart des répondants se disent défavorables à une union politique avec les États-Unis, mais les autres favorisent l'annexion politique du Canada aux États-Unis.

b. L'opposition à l'annexion politique s'accroît avec le degré d'instruction, le revenu et le statut professionnel. Mais cette tendance est moins prononcée parmi les Canadiens français qu'elle ne l'est chez les autres.

c. Les répondants des Maritimes sont plus favorables à l'annexion politique que ceux des autres provinces. Parmi les Canadiens anglais, les résidents des Maritimes et du Québec y sont plus favorables que ceux de l'Ontario et de l'Ouest. Parmi les Canadiens français on est plus favorable à l'annexion politique dans les Maritimes et l'Ouest qu'en Ontario et au Québec.

1.2 L'union économique avec les États-Unis

a. La moitié de la population opte favorablement pour l'union économique avec les États-Unis et un peu plus du quart se dit défavorable à une telle union. Les Canadiens français sont plus favorables que les autres à cette union.

b. Plus on est instruit, moins on est favorable à cette union. Cette tendance est absente, cependant, quand il s'agit du revenu ou du statut professionnel.

c. Les différences régionales dans la distribution des opinions sur l'union économique sont comparables aux variations observées au sujet de l'union politique.

3.2. Attitudes des Canadiens français

a. Les répondants sont un peu moins favorables à la création d'une union économique avec les États-Unis. Le tiers d'entre eux semblent prêts à accepter une baisse du niveau économique pour voir diminuer l'utilisation de capitaux étrangers. Les Canadiens français sont ceux qui se disent le plus favorables à une telle mesure. Ceux-ci sont donc à la fois les plus favorables que les autres à la création de liens plus étroits avec les États-Unis en même temps qu'à une diminution de l'utilisation de capitaux étrangers.

b. Dans la mesure d'insatisfaction s'élève, moins se dit d'accord avec une diminution de l'utilisation des capitaux étrangers. Cette tendance est beaucoup moins prononcée parmi les Canadiens français que parmi les autres groupes.

c. Les opinions sur cette question varient peu d'une région du pays à l'autre.

3.3. Mobilité géographique

a. La mobilité des Canadiens s'est élevée plus que dans les autres pays. Les Canadiens anglais ont une plus grande mobilité géographique et les Canadiens français sont ceux parmi lesquels elle est la plus basse. Un peu plus de la moitié des citoyens ont des proches parents hors de leur province et c'est parmi les Canadiens anglais que la proportion est la plus forte.

b. Une plus grande partie de la population a, par ailleurs, dit qu'elle s'installait plus souvent ailleurs dans une autre province que celle dans laquelle elle vit actuellement. Ceci est plus évident chez les Canadiens français que parmi les autres groupes ethniques.

L'Attitude Politique du Québec

a. En ce qui concerne l'avenir politique du Québec, la solution préférée est le statu quo. Parmi les Canadiens français une bonne proportion préfèrent un contrôle moindre d'Ottawa, mais chez les autres citoyens on préfère plus de contrôle. Peu optent pour le séparatisme: on est généralement contre ou sans opinion.

b. Il y a peu de différences selon les facteurs socio-économiques, mais parmi les Canadiens français, plus on est instruit, moins on favorise un contrôle de la part d'Ottawa.

c. Les répondants des Maritimes s'opposent moins que ceux des autres régions à la séparation du Québec du reste du Canada. Ceux qui s'y opposent le plus sont les Canadiens anglais et les "Canadiens" du Québec.

d. Les opposants au séparatisme et l'idée que l'on s'en fait ne sont pas liés en général avec le bilinguisme, mais plus les Canadiens français connaissent l'anglais, plus ils sont opposés au séparatisme. Parmi les Canadiens anglais l'opposition est surtout forte parmi ceux qui parlent le français avec quelque ce beaucoup de difficulté.

e. La proportion des Canadiens anglais pour le statu quo est plus élevée quand ils ont des contacts avec les Canadiens français. Quand ils ont des contacts avec les autres groupes ils sont plus pour un plus grand contrôle d'Ottawa que lorsqu'ils n'en ont pas. Avec des contacts augmente l'opposition à la séparation du Québec.

2.6 La Façon de Vivre des Canadiens Français

a. Les Canadiens français sont relativement beaucoup moins susceptibles de dire que les Canadiens français devraient s'efforcer de vivre comme les autres Canadiens et s'efforçant beaucoup plus qu'ils devraient s'efforcer, au contraire, de conserver leur façon de vivre.

b. La proportion de ceux qui veulent que les Canadiens Français soient dans la route des Canadiens non-français à travers toutes les étapes d'éducation, de revenus ou d'occupations. Mais plus le degré d'instruction augmente, plus on accepte une façon de vivre propre aux Canadiens français.

c. Les répondants des diverses catégories ethniques vivant dans les diverses régions du pays — y compris les Canadiens Français vivant hors du Québec — sont plus enclin d'être que les Canadiens Français devraient vivre comme les autres Canadiens que ne le sont les Canadiens français du Québec.

d. La connaissance de la langue de l'autre groupe n'affecte pas l'opinion des répondants sur cette question.

e. L'opposition à l'idée que les Canadiens Français conservent leur façon de vivre distincte quand les répondants ont des contacts avec les Canadiens français.

3.1. La Question Scolaire

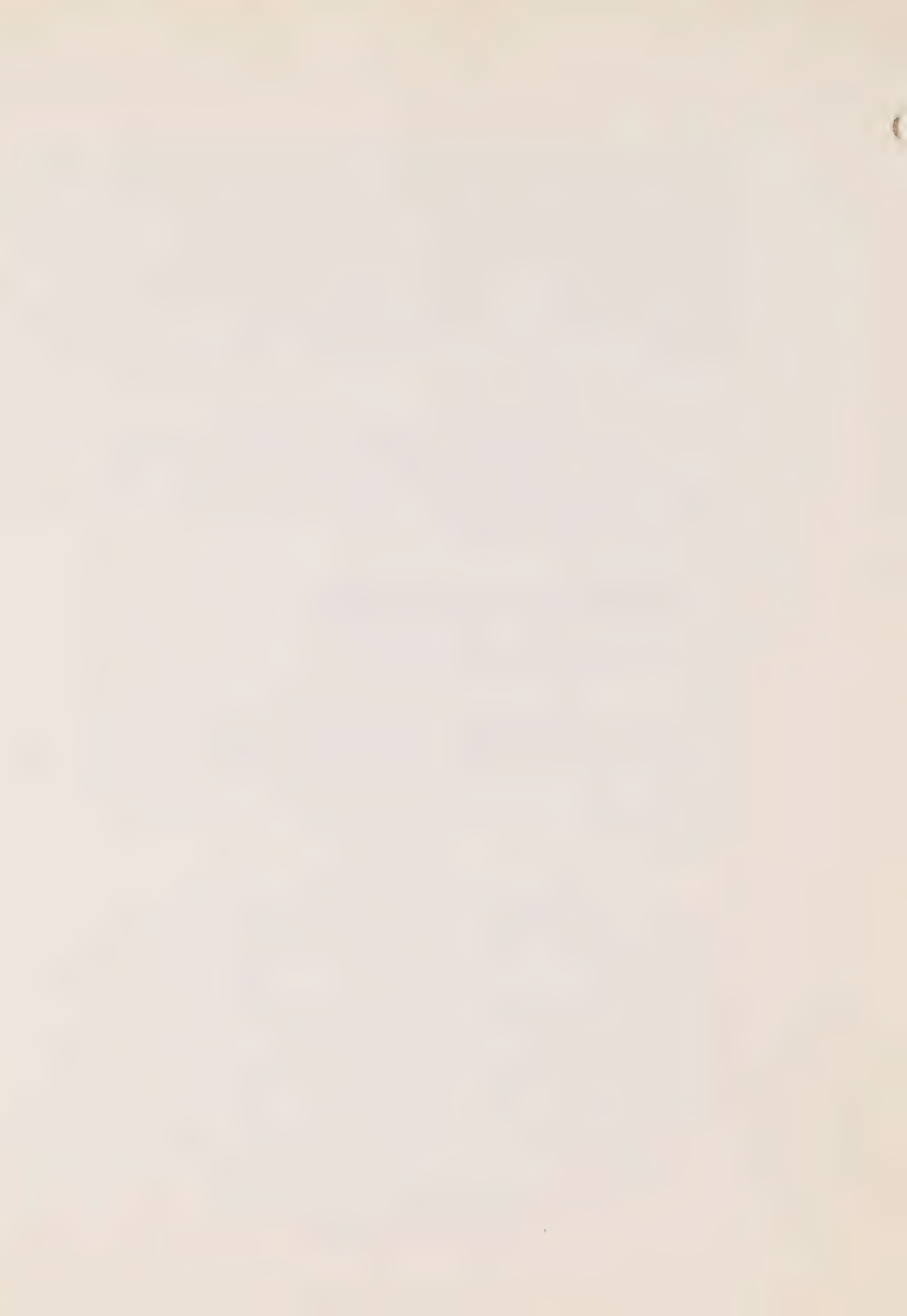
a. Une proportion beaucoup plus grande de répondants canadiens-français que des autres répondants favorisent des subventions aux écoles françaises catholiques ou non. Pour ce qui est du choix entre un système bilingue et un système basé sur la langue, les répondants des divers groupes ethniques, sauf les Canadiens français, préfèrent un système bilingue.

b. Parmi les Canadiens français, plus on est instruit, plus on favorise la subvention des écoles françaises, catholiques ou non, alors que chez les autres l'inverse se produit.

c. Les Canadiens français des différentes régions, mais particulièrement ceux des Maritimes et du Québec, favorisent des subventions gouvernementales à des écoles françaises.

d. Plus la connaissance de la langue est grande, plus on favorise la subvention des écoles françaises, catholiques ou non.

e. Les Canadiens anglais sont moins favorables à cette subvention quand ils ont des contacts avec les autres groupes que quand ils n'en ont pas, et les Canadiens français dans la même situation le sont plus.



D'autre part, les réponses de la question: "quelle langue parlez-vous le mieux: l'anglais, le français ou une autre langue?"⁽¹⁾ révélant pour l'ensemble de la population interrogée des proportions semblables à celles qu'on vient de souligner. En d'autres mots, il y a presque similitude entre les réponses à la question qui demande quelle est votre langue principale et celle mentionnée ici, tout au moins les différences qu'on pourrait souligner sont insignifiantes et par suite d'aucune portée.

Si nous considérons en dernier lieu l'évolution intergénérationnelle de la langue parlée (i.e. les répondants et leurs parents (père et mère) ont-ils la même langue principale)⁽²⁾, on observe certains changements principalement significatifs chez les Canadiens qui se disent appartenir à un troisième groupe ethnique. En effet, 69% de ces répondants avaient des parents (père et mère) qui parlaient une autre langue que le français et l'anglais. Or, ces répondants ne sont dans cette situation linguistique que dans une proportion de 21.6%. Ils ont relativement à leurs parents adopté l'anglais en grande partie. C'est ce qu'on peut observer au tableau qui suit:

Tableau 9.1

**Evolution Intergénérationnelle de la Langue
Parlée dans le Groupe des Canadiens "Autres"**

	Père %	Mère %	Répondant %
Autre langue	69.4	69.1	27.6
Langue anglaise	28.0	28.0	50.6
Langue anglaise et une autre langue	1.7	1.7	19.4
Langue française	1.0	1.0	1.1
	(1680)	(1680)	(1699)

(1) Les proportions données à cette question apparaissent au Table II, Questions 2-20, page 6-35. Les références au Table I concernent les Canadiens, le Study of Intergenerational Relations in Canada.

(2) Voir Table II, Questions 2-19 et 2-20, page II-34.

Chez les répondants qui se disent canadiens-anglais et canadiens-français on observe aussi une certaine évolution de la langue parlée, relativement à celle de leurs pères. Dans les deux cas on observe l'adoption de la langue anglaise par les répondants. Ainsi, chez les Canadiens anglais 9.3% des pères parlaient une autre langue que l'anglais et le français, chez les répondants, il n'y en a plus que 0.4%. Par contre 87.3% des pères et 97.3% des répondants ont comme langue principale l'anglais. En d'autres mots, les répondants dont la langue principale des pères était une autre langue que l'anglais ou le français ont comme langue principale l'anglais. Il en est ainsi pour environ 4% des répondants canadiens-français dont les pères avaient comme langue principale le français. Les répondants affirment avoir maintenant comme langue principale soit l'anglais seul, soit l'anglais et le français.

B. Facilité de lecture du Français et de l'Anglais

Si nous considérons maintenant la facilité de lecture du français pour les Canadiens dont la langue principale n'est pas le français et de l'anglais par ceux dont la langue principale n'est pas cette langue, on peut observer (Tableau 9.2) qu'une plus grande proportion (32.2%) de Canadiens français savent lire sans difficulté l'anglais relativement à la proportion (4%) de Canadiens anglais qui répondent pouvoir lire le français sans difficulté. De même la proportion (52.6%) des Canadiens anglais qui ne peuvent pas lire du tout le français est beaucoup plus importante que celle (19.7%) des Canadiens français qui ne peuvent pas lire du tout l'anglais.

En ce qui concerne les répondants qui se disent canadiens-anglais ou canadiens-français, on observe une aptitude à lire le français correspondant à celle des Canadiens anglais. Leur aptitude à lire l'anglais est par contre élevée. En d'autres mots, ces personnes semblent appartenir linguistiquement au groupe des Canadiens anglais. Il en est de même des répondants qui se disent canadiens lorsque leur langue principale est l'anglais.



Tableau 9.2

Proportions de Répondants Pourant Lire
une Langue Seconde (Français, Anglais)

Langue Seconde lue	C.A. le français	C.F. l'anglais	Total	
	%	%	français	anglais
sans difficulté	4.0	32.2	5.1	35.5
avec quelque difficulté	17.1	23.4	16.1	39.1
avec beaucoup de difficulté	16.5	14.5	10.0	9.8
pas du tout	62.6 (1112)	29.7 (594)	68.8 (1341)	11.7 (117)
Total				
seconde lue	le français	l'anglais	le français	l'anglais
	%	%	%	%
sans difficulté	4.8	72.5	25.5	65.9
avec quelque difficulté	19.7	20.9	11.5	14.7
avec beaucoup de difficulté	20.0	1.1	6.4	5.8
pas du tout	55.5 (3073)	5.5 (182)	56.6 (235)	2.1 (191)

Quant à ceux de ce groupe dont la langue principale est le français ou une autre langue que le français et l'anglais, en autant que le nombre de cas le permet leur connaissance de l'anglais écrit est très élevée chez les premiers (72.5%), plus faible chez les seconds (56.6%). En somme donc, on observe encore ici une forte facilité de lecture de l'anglais chez les Canadiens dont la langue principale est le français et une assez faible facilité à lire le français chez ceux dont la langue principale n'est pas cette langue.



C. Facilité de Parler le Français et l'Anglais

Lorsqu'on demande aux répondants de cette étude s'ils peuvent parler plus ou moins aisément le français si cette langue n'est pas leur langue principale et s'ils peuvent parler plus ou moins aisément l'anglais si cette langue n'est pas leur langue principale, on observe (Tableau 9.3) les mêmes faits que ceux notés pour la facilité de lecture de ces deux langues.

Tableau 9.3
Proportions de Répondants pouvant Parler
le Français et l'Anglais

Facilité de Parler la Langue seconde	C.A.	C.F.	Origine	
			langue française	langue anglaise
	%	%	%	%
sans difficulté	3.4	28.6	3.8	44.3
avec quelque difficulté	12.9	26.8	15.1	46.6
avec beaucoup de difficulté	15.1	16.3	11.9	2.9
pas du tout	68.6	28.2	69.1	3.1
	(11121)	(6605)	(1659)	(513)

Facilité de Parler la Langue seconde	CANADIENS DE LANGUE			
	anglaise le français	française l'anglais	d'une langue le français	d'une langue l'anglais
sans difficulté	5.0	67.0	34.0	69.1
avec quelque difficulté	15.4	22.0	7.2	16.2
avec beaucoup de difficulté	16.4	6.6	12.8	1.1
pas du tout	63.3	4.4	46.0	2.1
	(3082)	(182)	(235)	(49)

En effet, les Canadiens dont la langue principale est le français répondent ne pas pouvoir parler du tout l'anglais à 28% tandis que les Canadiens dont la langue principale est l'anglais ou une autre



langue que l'anglais ou le français répondent ne pas parler du tout le français à 70% environ. Ainsi donc le bilinguisme au Canada pour ce qui concerne le connaissance de la deuxième langue pour chaque groupe ethnique est plus répandu chez les Canadiens dont la langue principale est le français, 28.6% d'entre eux ayant déclaré parler l'anglais sans difficulté relativement à 3.4% des Canadiens anglais qui parlent le français sans difficulté.

En ce qui concerne l'étendue du bilinguisme des parents on constate qu'un plus grand nombre de répondants canadiens-français ont des parents qui parlent l'anglais, relativement aux répondants canadiens-anglais qui ont des parents qui parlent le français. La différence est de l'ordre de 35%.⁽¹⁾ Relativement au bilinguisme des répondants eux-mêmes canadiens-anglais et canadiens-français on peut affirmer que la situation est sensiblement la même. En effet, 71.3% des répondants canadiens-anglais parlent le français sans difficulté et avec quelque difficulté et 55.4% des répondants canadiens-français parlent l'anglais sans difficulté et avec quelques difficultés, soit une différence dans le bilinguisme de ces deux groupes de 39.4%. L'évolution intergénérationnelle du niveau du bilinguisme (anglais, français) chez les deux groupes ethniques principaux du Canada semble donc relativement stationnaire et la situation du bilinguisme des parents apparaît être aussi celle des répondants - ce sont les Canadiens français qui sont davantage bilingues.

D. Utilisation du Français et de l'Anglais

Sans égard à tout autre facteur, les Canadiens qui déclarent utiliser tous les jours le français si cette langue n'est pas la leur ou l'anglais si cette langue n'est pas la leur, sont proportionnellement plus nombreux dans le deuxième cas (utilisation de l'anglais) que dans le premier cas (utilisation du français). En effet, 31.6%⁽²⁾ des Canadiens français qui connaissent à des degrés divers l'anglais - la

(1) Voir l'Ann. 2, Questions 2-21, pages 2-54.

(2) Les divers pourcentages mentionnés dans cette section apparaissent au Tome II, Questions 1-77 et 2-13, pages M-30 et M-32.



Il faut tous les jours et 11.2% des Canadiens anglais qui connaissent le français à des degrés divers le parlent tous les jours. On observe aussi que plus de Canadiens français doivent utiliser assez souvent l'anglais relativement aux Canadiens anglais qui utilisent assez souvent le français. Les Canadiens dont la langue principale n'est ni le français, ni l'anglais déclarent utiliser l'anglais tous les jours dans une proportion de 66.6% et le français dans une proportion de 14.4%.

Il ressort des quelques faits mentionnés ici que le bilinguisme est surtout principalement par les Canadiens d'origine française et que l'anglais semble être la situation des autres Canadiens.

1. Connaissance du français et de l'anglais à la maison et au travail

Si l'on s'informe où le français et l'anglais ont été appris par ceux dont ce ne sont pas les langues principales, on observe quels que soient les moyens utilisés, qu'une plus grande proportion de Canadiens français ont utilisé ces moyens pour apprendre l'anglais relativement aux proportions de Canadiens anglais pour apprendre le français par les mêmes moyens.⁽¹⁾ Cependant, c'est au travail que les Canadiens français ont davantage appris l'anglais et c'est à la maison que les anglais ont davantage appris le français. Il en est ainsi pour les Canadiens dont l'anglais ou le français ne sont pas la langue principale.

En somme, il apparaît qu'apprendre l'anglais soit une nécessité que le travail impose à ceux dont ce n'est pas la langue principale et apprendre le français pour ceux dont ce n'est pas la langue principale apparaît comme un fait de milieu familial. C'est ce qu'on peut observer au Tableau 9.4 qui suit:

(1) Voir aussi la légende à la page 2-16, pages M-32 et M-33.



Tableau 9.4

Apprentissage d'une langue seconde
(Anglais, Français) pour Chaque Groupe Ethnique

Deuxième langue Apprise	G.F. Français	C.F. Anglais	CANADIENS AUTRES	
Maison	30.9 (3427)	45.7 (4763)	47.7 (497)	27.0 (511)
Travail	17.3 (3427)	55.0 (4777)	54.1 (488)	25.9 (511)
Lecture, télévision, cours du soir	19.9 (3436)	44.6 (4777)	48.5 (497)	18.2 (511)

Par ailleurs si plus de Canadiens français ont appris l'anglais soit à la maison, au travail et par la lecture, la télévision ou les cours du soir relativement aux Canadiens anglais qui ont appris le français par l'un ou l'autre de ces moyens, un plus grand nombre de Canadiens français (63.9%) répondent avoir eu des leçons d'anglais à l'école relativement aux Canadiens anglais (55.8%) des leçons de français à l'école.⁽¹⁾ Cependant la différence est ici beaucoup moins importante que dans le cas de l'apprentissage de l'anglais et du français au travail et autrement. (Voir Tableau 9.4).

1.2 Attitudes Relatives à l'Extension du Bilinguisme Officiel

Dans cette section nous examinerons les opinions des personnes interviewées dans cette étude pour ce qui regarde une extension du bilinguisme des gouvernements provinciaux du pays et des services du gouvernement fédéral.

(1) Voir Tome II, Questions 2-09, page II-31 et 2-17, page II-33.



Le bilinguisme officiel des services fédéraux (1)

Notons immédiatement que 60.1% (2) des personnes interrogées répondent qu'elles sont d'accord sur la possibilité d'avoir le bilinguisme officiel à tous les gouvernements provinciaux, et 31.5% des répondants qui se sont définis comme bilingues favorisent ce bilinguisme. Les autres groupes ethniques (Canadiens anglais et Irlandais en tête) sont presque tous partisans également en pour (47.6% et 49.6%) et contre (46.9% et 44.7%) le bilinguisme officiel des gouvernements provinciaux du Canada, le pour l'emportant de peu sur le contre.

Le bilinguisme officiel des services fédéraux (3)

Le Gouvernement Fédéral en Français ou en Anglais selon leur

Un plus grand nombre de répondants (82.6%) sont d'accord avec l'idée que les services fédéraux doivent être aussi bien français qu'anglais, c'est-à-dire à l'opinion que les gouvernements provinciaux doivent officiellement bilingues (80.1%). Un d'autres côté, les Canadiens quels qu'ils soient acceptent davantage le bilinguisme du gouvernement fédéral que celui des gouvernements provinciaux. Les Canadiens français le sont à 96% et les autres Canadiens (anglais et autres) le sont à 78% près.

Le bilinguisme des services fédéraux (4)

L'Anglais et le Français?

A cette question, 80.4% de la population interrogée répond favorablement, i.e. d'accord. Les Canadiens français comme précédemment sont fortement en faveur (95.6%) du bilinguisme des employés fédéraux. Les autres Canadiens le sont moins, 73.7% des Canadiens anglais ayant répondu d'accord et 15.3% en désaccord, 71.1% des autres Canadiens ayant répondu d'accord et 18.8% en désaccord.

(1) Question 1-20, Tome II, page M-6.

(2) Les différents pourcentages mentionnés dans cette section apparaissent sur Tome II, question 1-20, page M-6.

(3) Question 1-21, Tome II, page M-7.

(4) Question 1-27, Tome II, page M-8.

1.3 Extension du Bilinguisme de la Population

1.3.1 Bilinguisme Quel est-il? (Le bon des deux est le mieux, français et anglais) (1)

Dans l'ensemble les personnes interrogées dans cette étude favorisent l'idée du bilinguisme sans égard à aucune langue en particulier. En fait, 12.9% des répondants n'ont pas cette opinion. L'idée du bilinguisme est fortement répandue chez les Canadiens français (91.6% d'entre eux ont répondu oui et 2.7% ont, au moins, deux langues). Les Canadiens anglais sont ceux qui acceptent le moins l'extension du bilinguisme, 19.3% d'entre eux ayant répondu non à la question, soit la plus forte proportion obtenue de gens qui ne croient pas que de nos jours, il soit bon que l'on connaisse au moins deux langues. Notons d'autre part que les Canadiens français (12.6%) ont des opinions qui se rapprochent sensiblement de celles des Canadiens anglais.

1.4 Accentuation du Bilinguisme (Anglais, Français)

(Pensez-vous que ce serait une bonne chose si tout le monde au Canada parlait le français et l'anglais? Si vous en aviez l'opportunité, aimeriez-vous apprendre à parler le français, ou à améliorer votre français? Si vous en aviez l'opportunité, aimeriez-vous apprendre à parler l'anglais, ou à améliorer votre anglais?) (2)

Dans cette section nous considérerons les réponses à trois questions de l'étude qui tendent à mesurer jusqu'à quel point les Canadiens acceptent l'extension du bilinguisme (français, anglais) et jusqu'à quel point ils sont prêts à apprendre la langue qu'ils ne connaissent pas.

Ensemble, 77.4% des personnes interrogées considèrent favorablement l'idée que ce serait une bonne chose si tout le monde au Canada parlait le français et l'anglais. En particulier, 93.7% des Canadiens français ou de langue française sont favorables

(1) Question 2-23, Tome M, page M-35.

(2) Question 2-24, Tome M, page M-35.

" 2-10, " ", " M-31,

" 2-18, " ", " M-33.

de cet avis. Les autres Canadiens, anglais et autres, le sont beaucoup moins relativement aux Canadiens français. En effet, le pourcentage inférieur de 2% à celui des répondants français.

Cette réaction des Canadiens anglais et autres est consistante avec leur volonté d'apprendre le français (question 1-25). En effet, 31.7% de ces répondants n'aimeraient pas apprendre le français ou l'améliorer s'ils en avaient l'opportunité.

Les Canadiens d'expression française tendent à résister face à l'opportunité d'apprendre ou d'améliorer l'anglais. En effet, 16% d'entre eux n'aimeraient pas faire cet effort. Ils sont cependant moins nombreux que les Canadiens (anglais et autres) à se refuser.

En somme, les Canadiens français favorisent davantage le bilinguisme relativement aux autres Canadiens. De plus, tout en étant moins affirmatif lorsqu'il s'agit d'apprendre ou d'améliorer l'anglais, ils le sont tout de même plus que les Canadiens anglais et autres lorsqu'il s'agit d'apprendre ou d'améliorer le français.

1.5 Bilinguisme Réduit à la Province de Québec

Dans cette section seront examinées les réponses à deux questions ⁽¹⁾ dans lesquelles il a été demandé si le bilinguisme devrait être pratiqué dans la province de Québec seulement. En d'autres mots, les Canadiens anglais devraient parler le français dans le Québec et les Canadiens français l'anglais partout en dehors du Québec.

Le Tableau 9.5 présente les faits saillants sur les opinions des Canadiens relativement à la connaissance du français.

(1) Questions 1-25 et 1-26, Tome II, pages M-8 et M-9.

dans le Québec ou de l'anglais en dehors du Québec. En effet, 22.2% des Canadiens anglais et 71.4% des Canadiens français sont d'accord avec l'idée qu'un Canadien anglais devrait parler le français dans le Québec. D'autre part, 55.4% des Canadiens anglais interrogés et 52.4% des Canadiens français sont d'accord avec l'idée que les Canadiens français devraient parler l'anglais partout au Canada en dehors du Québec. On observe enfin des opinions sensiblement les mêmes que celles des Canadiens anglais chez les Canadiens autres en ce qui concerne la connaissance du français dans le Québec pour les Canadiens anglais. Par contre, ces Canadiens désirent davantage que les Canadiens français parlent l'anglais au Canada en dehors du Québec.

Tableau 9.5

Proportions de Répondants d'Accord avec
le Bilinguisme du Québec Seulement

	C.A.	C.F.	CANADIENS AUTRES
	%	%	%
Parler le français dans le Québec seulement pour les Canadiens anglais	22.2 (11161)	71.4 (7054)	23.1 (1693)
Parler l'anglais partout en dehors du Québec pour les Canadiens français	55.4 (11170)	52.4 (11170)	52.4 (11170)

Bien que les personnes interrogées des groupes non canadiens-français aient été en bonne partie (68%) (1) d'accord avec l'idée que ce serait une bonne chose que tous les Canadiens parlent le français et l'anglais, il apparaît ici que ce bilinguisme devrait s'appliquer surtout aux Canadiens français et avoir cours surtout dans le Québec. C'est ce que le tableau qui suit souligne.

(1) Voir Question 2-24, Tome M, page M-35 et Section 1.4 de cette partie, pages 10-11.

Tableau 9.6

Milieu idéal pour tout le pays et
bilinguisme pour le Québec seul

		C.A.	C.F.	Canadiens français
		%	%	%
Bilinguisme pour tout le pays		68.5 (11152)	95.7 (7052)	67.5 (1684)
Bilinguisme	parler le français dans le Québec seulement	22.2 (11161)	71.4 (7054)	23.1 (1684)
Québec seul	parler partout en dehors du Québec	55.4 (11170)	52.4 (7054)	64.7 (1684)

On peut croire que les Canadiens français favoriseraient avant à eux un bilinguisme qui dépasse les frontières du Québec, i.e. que non seulement ils désirent que les Canadiens anglais parlent le français dans le Québec (71.4%) mais qu'aussi eux-mêmes parlent l'anglais en dehors du Québec (52.4%).

3.6 Apprentissage de l'Anglais et du Français à l'École

Lorsqu'on s'informe auprès des personnes interrogées dans cette étude si elles pensent que tous les enfants de langue anglaise devraient apprendre le français à l'école primaire et si inversement ceux de langue française devraient y apprendre l'anglais, on observe que pour ce dernier cas l'ensemble de la population répond oui dans une proportion de 91.9% (Tableau 9.7) et qu'elle répond oui dans une proportion de 79.1% pour le premier cas.

Cette différence résulte principalement des réponses des Canadiens-anglais, soit autres qui pensent beaucoup moins que les répondants canadiens-français que leurs enfants devraient apprendre le français à l'école primaire. En effet, 20.7% des répondants

Dans chacun des groupes de répondants (Canadiens anglais, Canadiens français, Canadiens autres) on observe des faits semblables. Ainsi qu'en vient de signaler nous que les Canadiens français ont une vision positive sur l'avenir de la langue française, 41% d'entre eux croyant que la proportion de francophones sera plus grande qu'actuellement, relativement à 59.4% chez les Canadiens anglais et à 57.3% chez les Canadiens français.

II

Effets de Certains Facteurs sur les Attitudes et Opinions Relatives au Bilinguisme

Dans la première partie de ce chapitre, il a été observé que le fait d'être canadien-français et de ne pas l'être produisait de façon générale des effets que l'on peut qualifier d'opposés sur les attitudes et les opinions tenues au Canada et à l'endroit du bilinguisme. L'opposition dont il est question n'avait pas toujours la même force, mais on peut affirmer qu'elle était systématique.

Dans cette seconde partie de notre analyse, nous nous demanderons si les Canadiens de statuts sociaux égaux tendent à réagir de façon semblable en ce qui concerne le bilinguisme. En d'autres mots, y a-t-il chez les Canadiens qui occupent la même position dans la structure sociale des tendances à se conformer aux mêmes opinions sans égard à leur appartenance ethnique? Sous cet angle existe-t-il dans notre pays un certain accord que le statut social incline à introduire par-delà les différences ethniques? En conséquence, par le biais du statut social, pourrait-on espérer ou non une amélioration de l'entente entre les Canadiens sur un problème controversé tel que le bilinguisme?

Dans le contexte canadien d'autre part des personnes appartenant à l'appartenance ethnique -- région, langue principale, etc. -- qui se trouvent en contact avec un autre groupe ethnique que le leur, y a-t-il dans le même sens que le groupe ethnique lui-même peut être amené à une situation difficile à traverser?

(1) Voir Partie I, Sections 1.2 à 1.7, pp. 214 à 221.

En résumé, les facteurs de statut social (éducation, revenu et occupation) considérés dans cette section de la présente analyse, nuancent partiellement l'effet que produit l'appartenance ethnique sur ce que l'on pense de l'extension et l'amélioration du bilinguisme au Canada. En effet, les personnes de statut social plus élevé sont en général en plus grande proportion favorables au bilinguisme soit officiel, soit de la population elle-même que les personnes d'un statut inférieur au leur.

2.2. Facteurs Sociaux: (Facteurs Sociaux des Personnes de l'Autre Langue, Région, Connexion avec les Canadiens français)

A. Langue Principale

Notons tout d'abord que le facteur langue principale produit les mêmes effets que le facteur appartenance ethnique lui-même. Il divise comme celle-ci les personnes interviewées en deux groupes distincts dont les opinions s'écartent proportionnellement de manière importante. En fait, chez les personnes de langue française on favorisera toujours à pas moins de 90% le bilinguisme tandis que chez les non-francophones les proportions atteindront rarement ce niveau. En somme le facteur langue principale confirme les faits remarqués pour ce qui regarde l'appartenance ethnique et en conséquence il est inutile d'élaborer davantage sur le sujet.

Le facteur connaissance de l'autre langue et particulièrement le facteur région produisent certains effets sur les opinions tenues sur le bilinguisme que nous voudrions noter maintenant.

B. Région

1° Bilinguisme Officiel

Le facteur région a des effets surtout dans les Maritimes, et dans les Prairies pour ce qui concerne l'idée que tous les gouvernements

ments provinciaux devraient avoir comme langues officielles le français et l'anglais. D'une part, dans les Maritimes on favorise proportionnellement beaucoup plus cette idée que dans tout autre région; d'autre part, dans les Prairies on l'accepte proportionnellement beaucoup moins que dans les autres régions du Canada. ⁽¹⁾

De même, les Canadiens Français mis à part, les répondants des Prairies sont proportionnellement ceux qui favorisent le moins l'amélioration du bilinguisme des services fédéraux (Questions 1-22 et 1-27). ⁽²⁾

2^o Acceptation du Bilinguisme

Le facteur région sur certaines questions divise le Canada en deux parties d'une part le Québec et les Maritimes, et d'autre part l'Ontario et les Prairies. Par exemple les personnes interrogées à propos de l'idée qu'il serait bon que tout le monde au Canada parle le français et l'anglais, sont proportionnellement plus nombreuses à accepter cette idée dans le Québec et les Maritimes qu'en Ontario et dans les Prairies. ⁽³⁾

Pour d'autres aspects du bilinguisme, apprendre le français ou l'améliorer par exemple, les répondants non francophones du Québec sont en proportion plus nombreux à consentir à cette opportunité. ⁽⁴⁾ Par contre, apprendre l'anglais — situation qui concerne presque exclusivement les Canadiens français ⁽⁵⁾ — est proportionnellement davantage accepté dans les Maritimes que partout ailleurs dans le Canada. ⁽⁶⁾

IV. F-482

Voir Tome IV, Tableaux F-495 et F-521

Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-612

(4) Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-573

(5) En effet, le nombre de cas est insuffisant dans tous les autres groupes ethniques interrogés pour qu'on puisse préciser quelque chose.

(6) Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-586.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de préconiser l'étude du français dans les écoles primaires, la tendance est que les personnes à l'échelle des Maritimes et des Prairies sont proportionnellement moins disposées à accepter cette possibilité relativement aux répondants du Québec et de l'Ontario.⁽¹⁾ En ce qui concerne l'étude de l'anglais dans les écoles primaires, l'attitude est remarquable quasi que soient les régions et les groupes ethniques, sauf que les répondants des Maritimes tendent proportionnellement moins à accepter cette politique.⁽²⁾

L'idée de restreindre le bilinguisme au Québec, à savoir que les Canadiens français parlent l'anglais en dehors du Québec et que les autres Canadiens parlent le français dans le Québec n'est pas reçue également dans toutes les régions du pays. En fait, il n'y a pas de patron décelable des opinions à ce sujet. En effet, les opinions varient en fonction des régions mais aussi de façon propre à chaque groupe ethnique. Cependant, pour ce qui regarde l'opinion que les Canadiens français devraient parler l'anglais en dehors du Québec, on constate que les répondants des Maritimes tendent à être proportionnellement plus d'accord avec cette idée que les répondants des autres régions du pays.⁽³⁾ Par ailleurs les répondants du Québec sont proportionnellement plus d'accord que les autres personnes interrogées à l'idée que les Canadiens anglais devraient parler le français au Québec.⁽⁴⁾

En résumé, à propos de l'extension du bilinguisme officiel et de son acceptation dans la population, on a pu observer que le fait de vivre dans les Maritimes et dans le Québec entraînait des réactions proportionnellement plus favorables. Le fait de vivre dans l'Ontario et surtout dans les Prairies provoquait des réactions proportionnellement plus défavorables. Cette situation, compte tenu que le Québec et les Maritimes sont des régions francophones et que l'Ontario sont des régions anglophones confirme les effets de l'appartenance ethnique observés précédemment beaucoup plus qu'elle les nurece.

-
- (1) Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-547
(2) Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-560
 Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-554
(3) Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-508

3. Acceptation de l'Action Bilingue

1^{er} Anglophones d'origine

Chez les Canadiens français parler en non l'anglais n'échange pas les opinions qu'on a sur le bilinguisme officiel (gouvernements provinciaux bilingues et amélioration du bilinguisme des services fédéraux). Globalement on y est à vrai dire totalement sans

(1)

Chez les autres Canadiens, parler sans difficulté le français produit un effet sur les proportions de gens qui acceptent l'amélioration du bilinguisme des services fédéraux et à un moindre degré l'acceptation du bilinguisme des gouvernements provinciaux. (2)

2^o Acceptation du Bilinguisme

Ne pas parler du tout le français ou l'anglais selon le cas, apparaît comme ayant un effet sur les opinions favorables au bilinguisme. En effet, on observe que ces sous-groupes de personnes interrogées sont toujours dans des proportions moindres en faveur de politiques ou de conduites qui amélioreraient le bilinguisme de la population. (3) Cette situation se rattache probablement au fait que ces personnes seraient celles qui auraient à faire le plus d'efforts pour apprendre la langue qu'elles ne parlent pas.

3. Contacte avec les Canadiens français

Le bilinguisme au Canada étant davantage le problème d'apprendre le français (un nombre important de francophones comprennent l'anglais et acceptent d'autre part d'apprendre l'anglais), l'analyse de l'effet des contacts avec les Canadiens français sur les opinions relatives à l'amélioration du bilinguisme nous ont apporté quelques surprises. (4) C'est ce qui sera considéré dans les deux sections qui suivent.

(1) Voir Tome IV, Tableaux F-485, F-498, F-524

(2) Voir Tome IV, Tableaux F-485, F-498, F-524

(3) Voir Tome IV, Tableaux F-541, F-557, F-550- F-563, F-571 et 580

(4) Malgré ce fait, notons qu'avoir des contacts avec les francophones produit des effets davantage positifs à l'endroit du bilinguisme chez les Canadiens français; voir à ce sujet, Tome IV, Tableaux F-485, F-498, F-524

Relativement à l'acceptation du bilinguisme des gouvernements provinciaux, le fait de ne pas avoir de contacts avec les Canadiens français produit un effet surprenant. En effet, une plus grande portion de gens qui sont dans cette situation acceptent plus ce bilinguisme relativement à ceux qui ont des contacts.⁽¹⁾ Par contre, avoir ou non des contacts avec les Canadiens français ne change rien à l'opinion en faveur de l'amélioration du bilinguisme des services fédéraux.⁽²⁾

2^o Acceptation du Bilinguisme

De manière générale, les Canadiens anglais acceptent beaucoup plus le bilinguisme dans les faits et refusent de restreindre le bilinguisme à la province de Québec à partir du moment où ils ont des contacts avec les Canadiens français.⁽³⁾ En fait, le facteur rencontre des Canadiens français efface considérablement la séparation que produit l'appartenance ethnique.

CONCLUSION

Dans la première partie de ce chapitre, nous avons examiné les opinions et attitudes des personnes interrogées dans cette étude à propos de l'extension du bilinguisme au Canada. En réalité nous avons considéré quelle était la situation du bilinguisme au Canada, puis nous avons observé comment des répondants réagissaient globalement sans égard à leur appartenance ethnique face à la possibilité d'améliorer la situation bilingue du pays, pour enfin analyser comment deux groupes ethniques questionnés acceptaient cette dernière possibilité.

(1) Voir Tome IV, Tableau F-487

(2) Voir Tome IV, Tableaux F-500 et F-526

(3) Voir Tome IV, Tableaux F-573, F-539, F-552 et F-578.

Il a été principalement constaté qu'être bilingue (le parler ou le lire, le français et l'anglais), était un fait propre aux Canadiens français. En effet,

- 1^o 4.0% des Canadiens anglais peuvent lire sans difficulté le français et 32.2% des Canadiens français peuvent lire sans difficulté l'anglais.
- 2^o 3.4% des Canadiens anglais peuvent parler le français sans difficulté et 28.6% des Canadiens français peuvent parler l'anglais sans difficulté.

De même,

- 3^o 32.8% des Canadiens français connaissant l'anglais à des degrés divers utilisent cette langue tous les jours et
- 4^o 11.2% des Canadiens anglais qui connaissent le français à des degrés divers l'utilisent tous les jours.

De plus l'évolution intergénérationnelle du langage parlé chez les non francophones et les non anglophones à l'origine démontre que l'anglais est la langue adoptée en grande majorité par ces Canadiens. En effet seulement 1% de ces personnes ont comme langue principale le français tandis que 50.6% d'entre elles ont comme langue principale l'anglais.

Enfin, il a été observé que les Canadiens français et autres affirment avoir appris l'anglais davantage au travail qu'autrement et les Canadiens anglais ont appris davantage le français à la maison qu'autrement.

Du point de vue des opinions relatives à l'extension du bilinguisme officiel i.e. que les gouvernements provinciaux soient bilingues et que les services fédéraux bilingues s'améliorent, on a pu observer que les Canadiens français considéraient favorablement ces deux possibilités à plus de 90% tandis que les Canadiens anglais se partageaient à peu près également en faveur et en défaveur pour ce qui regarde le bilinguisme des gouvernements provinciaux et qu'environ 75% d'entre eux considéraient favorablement l'amélioration du bilinguisme fédéral.

Relativement à ce fait, nous avons voulu dans le deuxième partie de ce chapitre observer si les opinions relatives à l'amélioration du bilinguisme au Canada étaient surtout en fonction de l'appartenance ethnique ou au contraire pouvaient être mesurées, diminuées même en fonction de certains autres facteurs. A cet égard, nous avons principalement considéré l'effet du statut social, de la résidence géographique (région habitée par les répondants), l'effet de la langue principale parlée, l'effet de la connaissance du français ou de l'anglais selon le cas et l'effet des contacts avec les Canadiens français.

L'analyse de l'effet produit par le statut social des répondants (niveau d'éducation, d'occupation et de revenu) a permis qu'on ait eu à un plus haut niveau social (supérieur) une attitude plus favorable sur le bilinguisme au Canada. Ce résultat est le statut social plus élevé entraîne chez tous les répondants une attitude d'esprit plus libérale et plus ouverte et s'il se peut un désir d'améliorer la situation bilingue au Canada.

Par contre des facteurs para-ethniques tel que la langue parlée et la région confirment l'écart ou la séparation qui existe entre les Canadiens relativement à leurs opinions sur le bilinguisme. Enfin, les facteurs connaissance du français (parler le français sans difficulté) et contacts avec les Canadiens français produisent des effets positifs sur les attitudes que les Canadiens anglais tiennent à l'endroit du bilinguisme. En fait, on sera toujours plus favorable au français à partir du moment où on le parle et à partir du moment où connaissent des Canadiens français on sent le besoin de le parler. De même chez les Canadiens français et bien que leurs attitudes à l'endroit du bilinguisme soient toujours positives, il apparaît que les facteurs connaissance de l'anglais et contacts avec les Canadiens anglais augmentent l'aspect ouvert qu'ils tiennent à l'endroit du bilinguisme.

CHAPTER 10

SOCIAL CONTACT AND ASSOCIATION PRACTICES

INTRODUCTION

In our daily life, we meet people at work, while shopping, at the theater, the movies or elsewhere. We invite people at home or we are invited to a friend's home. Occasionally, we talk to a neighbor or we have a drink at a cocktail party with a person we see for the first time. All these social relations, voluntary or not, are part of human life and cannot be avoided completely.

Relations with people shape one's ideas and attitudes. Contacts with people from different ethnic origins, with different religions or educational background partially account for changes in individual beliefs and behavior. Relations between people are of paramount importance for the survival of groups, small or large, and for the structure of a society.

In a country like Canada where the ethnic factor can facilitate or impede ethnic contacts and at the same time strengthen or weaken the national unity, we may ask how strongly this factor affects contacts among people. Are the relations among people different from what they would be if there were no language differences?

In this chapter we will try to get a general idea of who associates with whom. Are the different ethnic groups closed to each other, or do they show some kinds of contacts, but at others? How close French Canadians are to the English Canadians and vice-versa? In the following sections, questions related to this topic are discussed. In a first part, we consider the behavior of people according to their ethnic identity. In a second one, we introduce other factors which are of great importance in studying relationships among Canadians.

10.1. CONTACTS WITH CANADIANS

Knowing what the geographical distribution of ethnic groups in Canada is, we would predict that people are more likely to report contacts with English Canadians than with French Canadians. And this is what is shown by the data. The French Canadians are those who receive the smallest amount of contacts. The English Canadians are those who receive the most contacts. And Canadians other than the French and the English have their place between the two major groups. Also, people from all ethnic groups meet more with the English Canadians than with any other group. (See Table 10.1, part A).

In general, the proportion of people having contacts with people from different ethnic groups is relatively high. As a sample of one: One half of the respondents have such contacts with French Canadians. The proportion of English Canadians with French Canadian contacts is somewhat higher (55.6%) than the proportion of "Other Canadians" having such contacts (45.8%). A little more than three quarters of the respondents have contacts with English Canadians and relatively more "Other Canadians" than French Canadians have relations with them.

The reader should note that the French Canadians and the "Others" are equally likely to say that they have contacts with members of each other's group (45% in each case), but that the same correspondence is not found between French and English Canadians. Indeed, 62% of the French say they have contact with the English, while only 17% of the English Canadians say they have contacts with French Canadians. This is probably due to the fact that the French being concentrated in Quebec are physically less accessible to the English than the English.

Table 10.1
Interethnic Contacts

	E.C. %	F.C. %	OTHERS %
A. Have contacts with:			
English Canadians	—	63.1 (7019)	33.4 (1537)
French Canadians	55.6 (11153)	—	45.8 (1685)
Another group	78.1 (11161)	45.9 (7042)	85.2 (1695)
B. Have frequent contacts with:			
English Canadians	—	53.2 (5266)	79.0 (1529)
French Canadians	42.9 (8422)	—	39.9 (1173)
Another group	55.7 (9338)	40.5 (3620)	68.1 (1490)

There are many contacts across ethnic groups in Canada, but not all of them are close relationships — at least insofar as the frequency of contacts reveals anything in this respect. The data indeed show a substantial decrease in the proportions having frequent contacts with members of other ethnic groups as compared with the proportions having any contacts at all. (See Table 10.1, part B).

But the decreases do not show a uniform pattern. We can observe the following:

While the English Canadians are less likely to have contacts with the French than with the "Others" (a 22.5% difference), we find that whenever they have contacts, they are less likely to make a difference between French and "Others" in the frequency of their contacts (a 12.8% difference).

b. A similar pattern is observed among the French Canadians: they are more likely to have contacts with the English than with "Others", (a 22.2% difference), but once they have such contacts, they are more equally likely to be frequent (a 12.7% difference), whatever the group concerned.

c. The same is true among the "Others": we observe a reduction of the differences when comparing "having contacts" with "frequency of contacts".

Generally then, we find that the English and the "Others" have more opportunities for contacts with each other than with the French; and that the French have more such opportunities with the English than with the "Others". The findings on frequency of contacts would also suggest that there is perhaps also a matter of desirability in the differences between getting contacts and having frequent contacts in the resulting data. Even the differences between groups cannot be ignored, but the English are still more chosen by both the French and the "Others", and the French less chosen by the English and the "Others". In order to go more in detail into the questions of opportunity and desirability, we will examine the patterns of voluntary and involuntary contacts as well as the answers to question dealing more directly with the desirability of contacts with members of other ethnic groups.

3.1. Voluntary Types of Contacts

Whether or not an individual has contacts depends, partially on the environment in which he lives. Stores and restaurants, work places, business meetings, schools and churches are places where people are more likely to meet by necessity. The contacts which happen in those places can be considered as involuntary ones. While contacts at home or at social gatherings are voluntary types of contacts. Which kind of contacts is prevalent in Canadian society is the object of the present section.

Let us first look at the pattern of contacts among English Canadians. As can be seen from Table 10.2, they have more voluntary than involuntary contacts with French Canadians. This may be due to the language factor. An English speaking person might not be aware of the fact that a person addressing him in English is a French Canadian. Such a situation is likely to happen in stores and restaurants although much less so at gatherings in private homes. It may simply be, then, that awareness of the ethnicity accounts for a higher proportion of voluntary contacts. We find also that the English Canadians have more voluntary than involuntary contacts with people from other ethnic groups; and it may again be for the same reason.

Table 10.2

Voluntary and Involuntary Contacts

	E.C. %	F.C. %	OTHER %
<u>Contacts with English Canadians</u>			
Voluntary	---	53.3	74.2
Involuntary (schools and churches included)	---	52.9	75.
Involuntary (schools and churches excluded)	---	60.0	79.3
		(5218)	(1551)
<u>Contacts with French Canadians</u>			
Voluntary	56.0	---	44.3
Involuntary (schools and churches included)	41.2	---	42.1
Involuntary (schools and churches excluded)	45.6	---	47.1
	(8431)		(1173)
<u>Contacts with Another Group</u>			
Voluntary	65.0	39.3	71.2
Involuntary (schools and churches included)	54.8	43.2	66.7
Involuntary (schools and churches excluded)	57.6	51.0	68.5
	(5343)	(2417)	(1173)

Among French Canadians the proportion having voluntary contacts with English Canadians is about the same as the proportion having involuntary contacts (53.3% and 52.9%). The same pattern is observed in the case of contacts with "Others": About 40% of French Canadians have either kind of contact with "Others". Similarly, the "Other Canadians" are about equally likely to have voluntary and involuntary contacts with either the English, the French, or members of other ethnic groups.

One category of involuntary contacts which may affect the pattern is the category of contacts in school and at church. People have different religions and in some provinces there are separate school systems. What happens if we compare voluntary and involuntary contacts when schools and churches -- as places of contacts -- are excluded from the involuntary contacts? The results are shown in Table 10.2.

For all groups, the proportion of people having involuntary contacts increases slightly. We now find that French Canadians have more involuntary than voluntary contacts with the English Canadians and with "Other Canadians". Also, we find that the "Others" are also slightly more likely to have involuntary than voluntary contacts with English Canadians. Among the English, the pattern has not changed, except that differences between voluntary and involuntary contacts are now smaller.

Excluding churches and schools as places of possible contacts, we find the following:

1. English Canadians are now more likely to have voluntary than involuntary contacts with either French Canadians or "Others".

2. Among French Canadians, the reverse is true: they are now more likely to have involuntary than voluntary contacts with either English Canadians or "Other Canadians".

c. Among the "Others", there is still another pattern: contacts with English Canadians are a little more likely to be involuntary, while they are about equally likely to be voluntary or involuntary with French and "Other" Canadians.

If we consider only voluntary contacts and compare them as they take place with different ethnic groups, we have further substantiation of the idea suggested by the findings of Table 10.1. Indeed, the fact that contacts are of a personal nature (i.e. in one's home) is a fairly good indication of the desirability of the kind of people chosen for such association. As suggested by the first two, Table 10.2 shows that English Canadians are more likely to have voluntary contacts with "Others" than with French Canadians, and French Canadians are more likely to have contacts with English Canadians than with Others; and finally that it is with French Canadians that the "Others" are the least likely to have contacts.

1.1 Desirability of Interethnic Contacts

In order to deal more directly with the question of the desirability of contacts with members of other ethnic groups, the respondents were asked whether or not they would like to have English Canadians, French Canadians, or members of other groups among their best friends and among their relatives.

In general, we observe that the large frequency of contacts reported earlier has been conducive to friendly relationships. On the average 46.8% of the respondents say that they would like to have some French Canadians among their best friends and another 47.8% say that they already have French Canadians as their best friends. The situation is still better for the English Canadians: more people are ready to associate with them (55.3%) or already do so (43.1%). Similar attitudes exist among those Canadians who are neither English nor French.

We also find that many people already have close relatives who are members of ethnic groups other than their own, and that still more would like to have some among their close relatives. Although the proportions of respondents who would like to have kinship relationships with members of ethnic groups other than their own, it is nevertheless quite high. More than one Canadian out of three would be ready to accept, as a close relative, an individual who is not a member of his own ethnic group.

Again we can compare the pattern of choices from one ethnic group to another. Looking at parts 1 and 2 of Table 11.3, we find an interesting difference with the pattern regarding the behavior of English Canadians. Indeed, we found earlier that English Canadians were substantially more likely to have contacts with "Others" than with French Canadians, and that they were more likely to have frequent and voluntary contacts with "Others" than with French Canadians. But here we find a different pattern: they are about equally likely to want French Canadians and "Others" among their friends or among their relatives (a 1.5% difference only in the total). This would suggest that for the English Canadian, frequency and type of contacts reveal more a structure of opportunity for personal association than a structure of preference. This makes sense if we consider the fact that French Canadians tend to live much more among themselves than "Other Canadians", thus being less accessible for associations to members of the English group.

This is not the case for the French and "Other" Canadians. Indeed, Table 11.3 shows for these respondents the same pattern as we had observed previously: French Canadians prefer English Canadians to members of other groups (a 16.5% difference) and the "Others" prefer English Canadians and members of other groups to French Canadians. The frequency of contacts observed among French Canadians seems to reveal a structure of preference more than a structure of opportunities. And the frequency of contacts among "Others" seems to reveal one as much as the other.

We should note, however, that whether it is more, as much as, or less of one or the other, in all cases the patterns observed are probably due to both a structure of opportunities and of preference. Indeed, that differences in opportunities for contacts do exist is definitely suggested by Table 10.2 on involuntary contacts.

Table 10.3
Desirability of Contacts with
Members of Other Ethnic Groups

	E.C. %	F.C. %	OTHERS %
<u>A. Would like to have among own friends:</u>			
English Canadians	—	56.6 (7045)	58.2 (1593)
French Canadians	48.1 (11155)	—	44.0 (1685)
Members of another group	51.6 (11170)	40.1 (7054)	53.2 (1693)
<u>B. Would like to have among close relatives:</u>			
English Canadians	—	49.5 (7045)	50.6 (1593)
French Canadians	37.9 (11164)	—	31.7 (1685)
Members of another group	41.4 (11170)	32.3 (7084)	44.3 (1653)
<u>C. Already has among his best friends: (1)</u>			
English Canadians	—	14.6	23.1
French Canadians	17.4	—	8.0
Members of another group	19.1	6.7	16.6
<u>D. Already has among his relatives: (2)</u>			
English Canadians	—	14.9	14.7
French Canadians	11.9	—	4.5
Members of another group	19.8	5.7	10.8

(1) The totals in part C are the same as those under the percentages in part A.

(2) The totals in part D are the same as those in part B.

On the other hand a difference in preference is not only shown by Table 10.3, but also by the responses to the following question:

"From what you have heard about (English Canadians) (French Canadians) (Other Canadians) or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that they treat other people as equals or that they act as if they were above other people?"

As can be seen from Table 10.4, both English Canadians and "Others" are more likely to find that French Canadians act as if they were above others than members of other groups --- and this is consistent with the previous results. It suggests that contacts with the French or the Others on the part of the English Canadians is not only a question of opportunities, but also of preference.

Table 10.4
Perception of Non-Egalitarian Attitudes
on the Part of Other Groups

	E.C. %	F.C. %	OTHERS %
Act as if they were above others:			
English Canadians	---	23.1 (7045)	9.3 (1590)
French Canadians	15.6 (11153)	---	12.5 (1695)
Members of Other Groups	5.0 (11170)	9.4 (7054)	3.6 (1005)

As far as French Canadians are concerned, the situation is a little surprising: they have more contacts with English Canadians than with "Other Canadians"; they also prefer to have the former among their best friends and relatives; yet, they are more likely to think that the English act as if they were above others than the "Others" do. This suggests an ambivalence on the part of the French Canadians vis-a-vis the English.

4.4 Membership in Associations

We have just seen that in general people have various contacts. We will now inquire into the associational behavior of Canadians. Do they belong to formal organizations at work and in their social life? Do they prefer associations with members belonging to their own ethnic group, or are the organizations homogeneous in ethnic composition of the organizations? We will examine the membership in work associations, sports and social clubs, business, religious, and political associations.

The ethnic factor does not account for much variation in membership in work associations. The proportion of English and French belonging to a labor union is about the same (19.3 and 21.0%), and a little lower than it is for "Others" (27.6%). As for trade and professional associations, the proportions are about the same in all ethnic categories (see Table 10.5, part A).

The picture is a little different for the other kinds of associations. First, we observe that French Canadians have a lesser tendency to belong to any kind of association than either the English Canadians or the "Other Canadians". Second, we find that this is especially true in the case of religious associations. This is probably due to differences between religious groups in the meaning given to notions of "belonging" or "membership". For a Catholic, membership is more likely to refer to church-related associations rather than to the church itself. For the Protestant, membership is likely to include both. (See Table 10.5, part B).

The English Canadians and the "Other Canadians" have a definite preference for a multi-ethnic membership while the French Canadians have a preference for a membership recruited within their own group. (See Table 10.5, part C). Almost half of the English Canadians (43.7%) and of the "Other Canadians" (47.0%) prefer to belong to organizations where members differ in their ethnicity compared with 18.4% of the French Canadians. We see that the French Canadians have a higher tendency than the two other groups to associate among

themselves. We also see that they are less inclined to associate either within their own group or with other groups: 18.4% of the French compared with 5.7% of the English and 3.8% of the "Others" prefer to belong to no associations.

Table 10.5

Membership in Associations

	E.C. %	F.C. %	OTHERS %
A. Membership in work associations:			
Labor Unions	19.8	21.0	21.6
Trade Associations	3.0	5.5	5.3
Professional Associations	8.7	5.2	7.8
More than one kind	2.0	3.9	2.0
Membership in no work Association	66.5	64.4	57.3
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)
B. Membership in:			
Sport Clubs	16.2	11.4	13.3
Social Clubs	25.4	12.2	29.0
Business Associations	12.0	5.8	10.3
Religious associations	41.5	28.8	45.5
Political associations	7.0	3.9	3.8
	(11168)	(7048)	(1693)
C. Membership preferences:			
With all members from own ethnic group	11.7	20.6	12.4
With members from different ethnic group	43.7	18.0	47.0
Indifferent	31.0	22.1	27.2
Prefers to belong to no association	5.7	18.4	3.8
	(11152)	(7054)	(1693)

2.1 Effects of the Region on Contacts of English Canadians with French Canadians

As expected it is in the Province of Quebec that the English Canadians have more contacts with the French Canadians. The numerical importance of French Canadians certainly accounts for this situation. Almost all English have contacts in Quebec while one out of two English Canadians has contacts with French Canadians outside of Quebec. The same factor accounts for a higher proportion of English having frequent contacts in Quebec than anywhere else. These facts support the idea about the structure of opportunities discussed earlier. (See Table 10.6, part A).

But what about the kinds of contacts the English have with French Canadians in the different regions? Here we find that all kinds of contacts, except those at school or at church, are more frequent in Quebec than in the other regions of Canada. Does this reveal a different attitude on the part of English Canadians in Quebec or does it reveal a difference in the sheer physical possibilities for contacts?

In order to give a partial answer to this question, the differences between the proportions for the Quebec respondents and those living in the three other regions were calculated -- this for each of the different kinds of contacts except those at school or at church. The differences are presented in Table 10.7.

As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, contacts in stores, restaurants, work places and neighborhoods are more revealing of differences in opportunities for contacts while contacts at social gatherings and at home, being more voluntary, reveal more the preferences and attitudes of people. As can be seen in Table 10.7, the differences between English Canadians in Quebec and in other regions

Table 10.3

(English Canadian Respondents only)

	REGION			
	Maritimes %	Quebec %	Ontario %	West %
A. Have contacts	46.9	94.1	54.6	53.0
Have frequent contacts	28.9	68.6	31.7	27.9
B. Contacts in stores and restaurants	46.2	79.3	39.8	38.6
At work or at business meetings	49.9	63.8	54.8	49.9
At social gatherings	52.7	59.1	48.9	55.1
At school or at church	31.8	31.3	25.6	28.5
In the neighbourhood	48.3	76.2	37.2	46.1
At home	60.4	68.8	59.3	61.7
C. Would like to have French Canadians among his best friends	40.8	66.6	46.3	49.9
Already has French Canadians among best friends	11.0	27.0	19.2	16.1
Would like to have French Canadians among relatives	30.5	61.2	36.2	38.5
Already has French Canadians among relatives	11.5	13.6	12.7	10.0
D. Treat other as equals	45.2	74.7	49.5	45.4

(1012-1603) (735-759) (3551-4765) (2957-4020)

There is a generally low to differences in the physical possibilities of contact: in the case of voluntary contacts, the regional differences are quite small, while they are quite large for most of the involuntary contacts.

Table 10.7

Differences in Attitudes Between English Speaking
 Residents of Quebec and of other Regions -- by
 Type of Contacts with French Canadians

	Quebec and Maritimes	Quebec and Ontario	Quebec and West
In stores or restaurants	33.1	39.5	50.7
At work or business	13.9	9.0	12.8
In neighborhood	27.9	39.0	30.1
At social gatherings	6.4	10.2	4.3
At home	8.4	9.5	7.1

On the other hand, the data of Table 10.6, part C, suggest that the attitudes of English Canadians vis-à-vis French Canadians are more positive in Quebec than in the other provinces. It seems that a French Canadian environment for an English speaking individual is a favorable environment for harmonious ethnic relations. In Quebec, 27.6% of the English Canadians have French Canadians among their best friends and another 66.6% would like to have some among their best friends: altogether 93.6% of the Quebec English Canadians have positive sentiments towards the French Canadians. Outside of Quebec there are more people who are indifferent, but so nevertheless find that more than 50% of the English Canadians have positive feelings toward the French Canadians. The situation is the same for the question concerning relatives: 80% of the English Canadians of Quebec have (18.6%) or would like to have (61.2%) French Canadians among their relatives. Outside of Quebec there are less people who are positive and more who are indifferent.

There are several other factors associated with the likelihood of interethnic contact. The knowledge of the other group's language is quite important. We find that the language spoken is more important

for the French Canadian than for the English Canadian. A French Canadian who does not speak English is more likely to find an English Canadian speaking French than the opposite. An English Canadian is more likely to meet French Canadians who speak English.

Young people have more contacts than older ones. The more educated an English Canadian is the more he is likely to have French Canadian contacts; the same the higher his income. People in rural areas have less contacts than people living in urban areas. At the same times, farmers have less contacts than any other occupational group. Otherwise occupation does not influence much the likelihood of having contacts with French Canadians.

Effects of the Region on Contacts of French Canadians with English Canadians

Outside of Quebec, almost all French Canadians have contacts with English Canadians as in the case of the English living in Quebec. One cannot avoid to meet an English Canadian when he goes outside of Quebec as one is almost sure to meet some French if he comes to Quebec.

In the English speaking provinces, almost all French Canadians have contacts with English Canadians in stores or restaurants. (See Table 10.8, part A). But at work an average of one third of the French Canadians do not have contacts with English Canadians, either in Quebec or outside of Quebec. Otherwise, except for contacts at school or at church, French Canadians outside of Quebec always have more contacts than the residents of Quebec. We have seen earlier that there seems to exist a strong cleavage in the use of educational facilities and religious institutions between English and French. We see here that this situation is somewhat more pronounced in Quebec. (See Table 10.8, part B). In the Maritimes, Ontario and the Western provinces, over 60% of the French have contacts with English Canadians at school or at church while in Quebec only 16.6% of the French Canadians

have such contacts at school and at church. These findings of course were not surprising. The formal structure of the provincial education systems provides for such a partitioning.

Table 10.8

Region and Interethnic Contacts
(French Canadian Respondents Only)

	Maritimes %	Quebec %	Ontario %	West %
A. Have contacts	92.5	60.9	97.5	93.2
Have frequent contacts	61.0	30.4	81.0	77.0
B. Have contacts:				
In stores and restaurants	86.2	53.0	92.6	97.0
At work or at business meetings	61.0	67.2	73.9	62.0
At social gatherings	64.0	41.0	82.8	87.5
At school or at church	63.2	16.8	72.6	73.0
In the neighbourhood	63.7	40.7	82.0	84.
At home	78.0	44.5	89.3	86.7
C. Would like to have English Canadians as best friends	44.1	59.2	46.4	57.6
Already has English Canadians among best friends	36.4	8.1	44.2	25.5
Would like to have English Canadians among relatives	38.2	52.0	41.1	45.3
Already has English Canadians among relatives	33.0	8.7	39.1	41.3
D. Treat other as equals	62.1	43.3	58.5	54.0
	(413-416)	(3684-5530)	(769-796)	(261-280)

We found for English Canadians that contacts with French Canadians is conducive to a desire for further relations with them; we find that the same pattern exists for French Canadians in their relations with English Canadians. For example, in the Province of Quebec, where a smaller proportion of French have contacts with English Canadians, less French Canadians have or would like to have English Canadians among their best friends. There is also a relationship between the province in which one lives and his preference to associate as a relative with English Canadians. (See Table 10.8, part C).

We can also raise with respect to French Canadian contacts the same question raised in connection with the patterns of contacts among the English Canadian respondents: Do the regional differences reveal differences in attitudes or in the physical possibilities for contact between the French Canadians in Quebec and in the rest of Canada? Do French Canadians outside of Quebec have more contacts with English Canadians than the French in Quebec because there are proportionately more English outside than inside Quebec?

In order to examine this question, the same set of differences were calculated as was done for the English Canadians inside and outside of Quebec. Looking at these percentage differences (presented in Table 10.9), we do not find for French Canadians the pattern we observe for English Canadians: French Canadians are more likely to have contacts with English Canadians if they live outside of Quebec whether the contacts be voluntary or involuntary. Having more physical opportunities for contacts does not make the French Canadians more likely to have involuntary contacts. We then have to draw a conclusion similar to the one drawn earlier in this chapter: the pattern of contacts among French Canadians reveal both a structure of regional differences and a character of uniformity (absence of difference between type of contacts).

TABLE 101

Contacts of Bilingual French Canadian Households
with English Canadians of other Regions — by Type of Contacts with
English Canadians

Type of contacts	Percentage		
	Quebec and Maritimes	Quebec and Ontario	Quebec and West
In stores or restaurants	33.2	39.6	44.0
At work or business	6.2	6.7	5.2
In neighborhood	23.0	41.3	45.6
At social gatherings	23.0	41.8	46.5
At home	33.5	44.8	42.2

There is one exception, however, in the case of contacts at work or business meetings: regional differences are almost nil. This was to be expected. There is probably not a general difference in the amount of union business and industry in English Canada and outside of Quebec; so that the differences in relative numbers would not matter as much at work or in business dealings as they do for contacts in stores, restaurants, neighborhoods or private meetings.

The language factor has also some effect on the likelihood of contacts with English Canadians: bilingual French Canadians are in contact with the English in a proportion of 95.3% whereas only 30% of the French who do not speak English at all.

In social life similar people associate more often than do people with different backgrounds. Young French Canadians have more contacts with English Canadians than older French Canadians. This finding is similar to the finding about the English Canadians. Similarly in relation with education: the more educated French Canadian is more likely to have contacts with English Canadians. Whether a French Canadian lives on a farm or in a metropolitan area also has some effect on his ethnic contacts. Finally, one's occupation has not been found to affect very much the pattern of work-related

2.2. Membership in Associations

Experience with people from different ethnic groups leads to membership in formal associations with these people. Both English and French Canadians who have contacts with the other Canadian group tend to be members of groups in which the membership is open to all ethnic groups.

In Quebec, the English Canadians are much more favorable to multi-ethnic membership than the French Canadians are. Outside of Quebec, this difference between the two groups disappears. Young respondents have a preference for multi-ethnic membership while older people prefer associations in which all members are of their own ethnic group. Also, with more education and more income, one becomes more willing to join multi-ethnic associations.

SUMMARY

3. Pattern of Interethnic Contacts: Opportunities or Preferences

English Canadians associate more with "Other Canadians" than with French Canadians; French Canadians associate more with English than with "Other" Canadians; and finally, "Other" Canadians associate more with English and with Other Canadians than with French Canadians. This is revealed by the data on the existence of contacts and their frequency; by the data on voluntary and involuntary contacts; and by the data on the preferences of the respondents.

English Canadians constitute the group that has a higher socio-economic status in the country and that is also the most geographically concentrated. Correspondingly, it is the one that people associate the most with, either because opportunities are more frequent or because it is found a more desirable group.

French Canadians, on the other hand, are not as frequently in contact with English Canadians as the "Others" are, whether these contacts are voluntary or not. On the other hand, English Canadians seem to find French and "Other" Canadians equally desirable as potential associates. The discrepancy can probably be accounted for by the fact that the French are more concentrated geographically than the "Others".

Finally, the "Other" Canadians prefer to associate with English Canadians: a fairly reciprocal relationship. They also view French Canadians the least desirable: also, a reciprocal relationship.

In general, can the patterns observed among the various ethnic categories be attributed to a set of attitudes or to a situation of physical opportunities for contacts without any two ethnic groups? It was suggested that both are certainly operative, but that the French contacts of English Canadians (and Other Canadians) with French Canadians are perhaps more the result of differences in opportunities than in attitudes. This would be the result of the high degree of geographical concentration of French Canadians and the language differences which make them less accessible for association to other groups across the country.

English Canadians, on the other hand, are quite spread geographically. As a result, the pattern of contacts of French Canadians with them (as well as with "Other Canadians") seems to be more attributable to a set of attitudes or to their greater mobility of English than to a set of opportunities.

2.2 Region and Interethnic Contacts

Except for contacts at school and at church, English Canadians living in Quebec have more contacts than the English people of other provinces. The regional differences are more pronounced for involuntary contacts than they are for voluntary ones.

The region has an effect on the likelihood of all kinds of contacts of French Canadians with English Canadians. Except the contacts at work, it is in the province of Quebec that the proportion of French Canadians having contacts with English Canadians is the lowest. This is especially true for contacts at school and at church.

English Canadians living in Quebec seem to differ from those living in other provinces in their attitudes vis-à-vis French Canadians. These attitudes seem more positive in Quebec than elsewhere. The data, however, is not completely consistent. Looking at the questions themselves rather than at the statement of preference, we find that English Canadians in Quebec differ from those outside only on involuntary contacts and not on voluntary ones. These data suggest that the difference between Quebec and the other provinces is that Quebec offers more opportunities for contacts with French Canadians; but that the attitudes are the same in all regions.

3. Membership in Associations

French Canadians are more likely than English and "Other" Canadians to prefer associations and clubs in which the membership is of the same ethnic group as their own. The other groups prefer multi-ethnic memberships in associations.

CHAPTER 11

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES

At various points throughout this report, some respondents claim that they are not hyphenated Canadians, they insist they are only Canadians or that they do not belong to any ethnic group. These people make up 15% of the total sample, which is about twice the number of respondents who claim that they belong to ethnic groups other than English and French Canadians. We shall be concerned in the first part of this chapter with the question of who are these people, and how they differ on a number of background factors from people who claim ethnic membership. In the later parts of the chapter we shall turn our attention to some background characteristics and attitudes of the total sample, especially certain economic and political characteristics which provide a kind of profile of what respondents are like.

I

Let us look at both the hyphenated and the unhyphenated Canadians. The latter differ among themselves in terms of their principle language the majority (as Table 11.1 shows) speak English as their principle language and only about 12% of all hyphenated

Table 11.1

Proportions of Respondents Who Claim Ethnic Membership,
Those Who Do Not, and Their Principal Language

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS
% of total sample	48	30	7	15
			(23459)	
<u>Principal language</u>				
English	97	5	51	88
French	1	91	1	5
Other	—	—	28	7*
	(11170)	(7052)	(1693)	(350*)

about 3% of these respondents speak English and French as their main languages. Even while the majority have a main language other than English or French, this category also contains respondents who cannot be categorized by main language into either the English or French categories; it is therefore a residual category. In the ethnic categories there are also respondents who claim two principle languages, as follows:

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS		
	%	%	%	E.	F.	Others
English and French	1	3	—	—	—	30
English and another language	1	—	19	7	—	—
French and another language	—	—	1	—	2	—
	(11170)	(7052)	(1693)	(3092)	(182)	(237)

As can be seen for persons of "other" ethnicity, English rather than French tends to be a main language if the respondents has more than one main language.

To what extent are these predominantly English speaking Canadians similar in characteristics to persons claiming ethnic membership? On the whole there is no difference between males and females and between

Table 11.3

Ancestral Background of Respondents, Father's Language
and Occupation by Ethnicity, in Percentages

	E.C.	P.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS*		
<u>Language of father</u>						
English father	74	3	21	56	2	6
French	2	81	3	6	59	91
Other European	18	2	72	28	22	60
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)	(253)
<u>Main language of father*</u>						
English	87	3	28	71	1	
French	2	95	1	4	86	97
Other	9	1	69	21	3	60
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)	(253)
<u>Parents speak another language</u>						
English	7	42	23	16	37	27
French	7	2	5	7	4	
Other	11		23	14	8	20
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)	(253)
<u>Father with white collar occupation</u>						
	27	24	27	31	43	4
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)	(253)

* The pattern for principle language of mother is similar to that of father.

To summarize the backgrounds of the "Canadians", we can say that more frequently than for ethnic group members, they are people who have rejected a non-English or non-French ancestral origin, who have been raised in white collar homes, and whose parents have been bilingual. They are also people who are more apt to have reached their majority during the period of World War II. They are finally, predominantly English speaking people.

Where do the "Canadians" live? The English speaking ones are somewhat more apt to live in Ontario than English speaking and less apt to live in the Maritimes, whereas the French speaking ones are more apt to live in the Maritimes than are French speaking. Only those Canadians speaking mainly "other languages" are more apt to live in Quebec. The Canadians are also more apt to live in the largest cities in Canada than are the ethnics. In short the size of the city they live in appears to have more relationship to the choice of the non-ethnic category than does the region of residence. (Table 11.4)

Table 11.4

Residence by Ethnicity, in Percentages

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS		
	%	%	%	E. %	F. %	Others %
<u>Region</u>						
Maritimes	14	6	3	7	13	5
Quebec	7	78	15	7	73	23
Ontario	43	11	35	49	11	23
West	36	4	46	37	3	38
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3032)	(182)	(237)
<u>Location</u>						
Farm, village	23	21	15	12	19	11
Small city	24	21	18	23	16	18
Medium sized city	9	10	7	10	12	7
Large city	43	48	60	55	53	65
	(11152)	(7046)	(1691)	(3084)	(182)	(237)

This suggests that the horizons of the "Canadians" may be somewhat broader than those of the ethnics, and in fact this is supported by the evidence on where they were lived in the past, on their contacts with other groups of people, and on their bilingual ability. As can be seen in Table 11.5 this support is particularly strong for the French and "Other" speaking Canadians. A higher percentage

of them have lived in more than one place in Canada than have their ethnic colleagues. A high proportion also have friends and relatives among the French or English or both and a higher proportion are perfectly bilingual. The English speaking Canadians, on the other hand, are no more apt to be bilingual than the English ethnics, only slightly more travelled, and with only slightly more French friends and relatives. One might speculate that being a non-ethnic is, for these English speaking Canadians more of an ideological issue than a result of direct interpersonal experience. It may be that the idea of an ethnic melting pot is of considerable relevance to them, although we have no evidences to support this. The fact that they tend to live in large cities and in the most industrialized province — Ontario — would tend to support this inference.

Table 11.5

Mobility, Contacts and Bilingualism,
by Ethnicity, in Percentages

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS		
	%	%	%	E. %	F. %	Group %
<u>Have lived elsewhere</u>						
in Canada than where now living	36 (11170)	18 (7042)	29 (1695)	42 (3082)	29 (182)	35 (367)
<u>Have contacts with:</u>						
<u>French</u>						
as friends	17 (11155)	—	8 (1685)	22 (3082)	39 (176)	36 (397)
as relatives	12 (11164)	—	5 (1685)	18 (3082)	43 (176)	35 (397)
<u>English</u>						
as friends	—	15 (7045)	23 (1598)	29 (2716)	42 (182)	45 (253)
as relatives	—	15 (7045)	15 (1598)	26 (2707)	27 (182)	28 (254)
<u>Speaks without difficulty</u>						
English	—	29 (6603)	44 (513)	—	67 (182)	69 (194)
	(11121)		(1659)	(3082)		

Occupation, Income, Education and Religion,
By Ethnicity, in Percentages

	W.	N.	S.	P.	O.
	11170	7054	1693	3082	182
Labor force status					
In labor force	41	38	44	52	53
Housewife	45	38	43	40	34
Student	2	3	2	2	—
Unemployed	1	2	1	1	4
Other	12	12	7	8	3
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)
Occupation					
Professional, managerial	27	—	23	32	25
Clerical, sales, service	17	—	11	16	17
skilled	19	—	23	20	20
semi-skilled, unskilled	23	—	28	24	31
Farmer, farm laborer	12	9	8	6	2
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)
Income					
Under \$3,000	17	21	16	12	14
\$3,000 to \$6,500	32	40	44	34	46
\$6,500 or more	27	15	25	35	18
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)
Education					
0 - 7 years	12	40	—	42	25
8 - 12 years	68	49	—	53	52
13 or more years	20	11	—	26	28
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)
Has gone to a university					
	11	—	12	14	12
	(11075)	(6970)	(1669)	(3035)	(180)
Religion					
Protestant	76	2	41	66	—
Catholic	20	98	38	26	94
Other	2	—	21	5	—
None	2	—	—	2	3
	(11161)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)

Ethnic Attitudes and Friendships

In the previous part of this chapter we have been concerned with the nonethnic respondents and have largely ignored ethnics who of course compose the largest proportion of the sample. Here we shall be concerned with variations in attitudes among both ethnics and nonethnics. But first we should describe very briefly the backgrounds of the ethnics.⁽¹⁾

It is clear that on certain background characteristics, the English and French and "other" ethnics would be different: on principle language, on ancestral origin, on birth place, on religion, and on region of residence. Canada is an ethnically divided country with the English in the Maritimes and Ontario, the French in Quebec and "other" ethnics residing in the West. But for the most part, about the same proportion of English and French live on farms and in cities, while the majority of "other" ethnics live in large cities. Again, the French are considerably more bilingual than are the English both in the respondent's generation and in that of his parents. Whatever other language "other" ethnics speak, they speak English considerably more often than they speak French. In fact they are no more facile in French than are the English, nor have their parents been before them.

About the same proportion of English have friends and relatives among the French as have French among the English. The English have intermarried with other ethnics in the same proportion as they have with the French. But the French have not intermarried with the "other" ethnics nor do the "other" have French friends. For no ethnic group has there been much mixing with members of the other ethnic groups, even at the level of friendship.

(1) The reader is referred to Tables 11.4 to 11.6 again.

On socio-economic status, the French and English do differ but not to the degree that general belief in Canada insists on making the difference. In fact when we compare the education of French ethnics with their incomes and occupations we are led to conclude that the French have been overrewarded in some respects: about 40% of the French have not gone beyond grade seven in school as compared with only 12% of the English. Twice the proportion of English have gone to university as compared with the French. Yet the difference in the proportion of English and French with professional and managerial occupations is not great and the difference in proportion of the two groups, in the lowest income category is even smaller. Certainly a larger proportion of French than English are in manual jobs, a smaller proportion are in the top income category, but considering their lack of education in an industrialized society, they have achieved remarkably well.

With this in mind, let us look first at some of their economic attitudes, mainly at their perception of their economic situation, their financial position, and their perception of their economic future.

Respondents were asked whether they felt that their financial position was congruent with their education. They were also asked if they felt they had reached a social rank comparable to the one their father had reached. The responses to these questions are shown, by ethnicity, in Table 11.7. As can be seen the French and "others" experience incongruence in somewhat higher proportions than do the English but not significantly so. When the respondents were asked what they thought about the incongruence we find that not many were French and only a slightly higher proportion of "others" think about it at least sometimes. This is not very different from the English. In comparison with their fathers, about the same proportion

of each group (except the French speaking "Canadians") have been similar, primarily in an upward direction. These data suggest an experience of economic injustice on the part of the French, so far as their personal lives are concerned.

Table 11.7
PERCEPTION OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Perception of Accomplishments by Ethnic Category

	F	E	E.	F	Other
	%	%	%	%	%
Incongruent:					
rewards > costs	12	17	17	17	4
costs > rewards	15	17	17	40	44
Congruent:					
rewards = costs	65	58	54	66	52
	(11161)	(7036)	(1693)	(3000)	(182)
Concerned about incongruence	59	59	64	55	46
	(3983)	(3051)	(783)	(1050)	(50)
Social rank compared to fathers					
Incongruent:					
Higher	37	39	45	37	37
Lower	9	11	11	7	10
Congruent:					
	45	45	33	45	37
	(11159)	(7054)	(1694)	(3082)	(182)

How do respondents perceive their financial position in radically different terms. A slightly larger proportion of French see their financial situation as constant over time than do other respondents, as can be seen in Table 11.8, but no more French than others perceive their present situation as having worsened or predict

that it will worsen in the future. In other words the French perception is one of constancy over time rather than the somewhat greater optimism of other respondents. In this regard, Canadians speaking languages other than English or French are perhaps the most consistently pessimistic.

Table 11.8

Perception of Financial Position by Ethnic Group, in Percentages

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS		
	%	%	%	E.	F.	Other
Compared to 3 or 4 years ago, financial situation is:						
<u>Incongruent:</u>						
Better	51	43	50	55	52	48
Worse	17	16	16	11	10	12
<u>Congruent:</u>						
Same	31	42	33	34	38	40
	(11170)	(7046)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)	(251)
Compared to a year ago debts are:						
<u>Incongruent:</u>						
Lower	36	29	39	40	30	38
Higher	14	11	11	11	11	12
<u>Congruent:</u>						
Same or no debts	42	47	42	39	42	40
	(11170)	(7020)	(1693)	(3080)	(182)	(251)
In 3 or 4 years, expect that income will be:						
<u>Incongruent:</u>						
Higher	43	41	44	41	38	40
Lower	6	7	8	8	8	10
<u>Congruent:</u>						
Same	51	52	48	51	54	50
	(11168)	(7048)	(1693)	(3082)	(182)	(251)

Just as the French tend more frequently to perceive an absence of change in their financial situations, so are they more apt to be unable to predict what will happen to them in the future. As Table 11.9 shows, only about half of those in the labor force, as compared to from two thirds to three quarters of the other respondents in the labor force, feel they can foresee what will happen in their work and only a third of them feel that they can easily plan for their future. Indeed, only the Canadians who speak languages other than English and French are as uncertain about their future plans as are the French, although within the French there is the labor force are more certain about the future of their working lives. Perhaps the most surprising thing about this evidence is that despite the apparent stability of most of the respondents in their settlements, and despite their optimism about their financial situation, less than half of them feel certain about their future enough to make plans for it easily. Without comparative data it would be difficult to say whether this is an indication of the basic conservatism which has frequently been ascribed to Canadians in general, or whether there is, about the structure of Canadian society, a basic instability which makes people feel that their future is uncertain or bleak. We can, nevertheless, specify more closely who are the people who experience this uncertainty.

Table 11.9
Perception of Future by Ethnic Group,
in Percentages

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	ALL	Sample	
	N	N	N	N		
Can foresee very well or fairly well what will happen at work	67 (3420)	52 (2511)	58 (602)	73 (1141)	73	1141
Can plan for future very easily or fairly easily	47 (11159)	31 (7046)	45 (1693)	53 (3082)	53	3082

We stated before, that the evidence on education, occupation and income suggests that the French have tended to be overrewarded in comparison with English speaking respondents. We have also found that the evidence suggests that they do not feel as to any large extent more often than other kinds of respondents. We may now ask, to what extent do these objective indices of rewards and the subjective feeling of the relationship between income and education affect their certainty or uncertainty about their future at work and their future plans in general. We shall look at the subjective feeling first.

Table 11.10 presents evidence on the effect of the subjective relationship between income and education on certainty about the future. It also presents the effect of a sense of economic deprivation on future certainty. What is perhaps most surprising about this evidence is that those people who one would suspect feel most stable, that is, those whose financial situation is congruent with their educational attainment are not necessarily the most certain about their future. In fact it is those who feel overrewarded who have the most certainty about the future. Presumably people have to get more than they want they deserve before they can predict the future with ease. It follows from this that those who feel economically deprived would be unable to plan for the future easily, and, as the evidence shows, this is in fact so.

Still another surprising finding is that the French, even those who feel overrewarded, admit that they can foresee their work future with a reasonable degree of ease. Considering the public objection to English speaking control of business organizations this would not have been predicted. The small proportion of underrewarded French who feel they can predict their work future is more in line with what one would expect. In fact, only the English (and the Canadians) are consistently certain about their work future regardless of their expression of their rewards or lack of them, and they are not uncertain about the future when they feel themselves to be underrewarded.

Table 11.10

THE EFFECTS OF THE COMPLEXES OF INCOME AND EDUCATION AND OF
FEELINGS OF ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION ON CONCERN ABOUT THE FUTURE,
in Percentages

	P.O. Wants		P.O. Future plans		Wants Future plans		OTHERS Future plans		OAS Future plans	
	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$
Rewards > costs concerned	94	71	80	42	35	57	94	71		
	(146)	(244)	(70)	(229)	(52)	(101)	(62)	(91)		
not concerned	78	65	61	47	77	64	75	62		
	(370)	(1044)	(392)	(952)	(78)	(184)	(201)	(445)		
Costs > rewards concerned	57	21	33	18	33	9	65	52		
	(350)	(764)	(178)	(546)	(61)	(150)	(93)	(174)		
not concerned	72	40	38	20	54	17	88	41		
	(213)	(8041)	(224)	(646)	(24)	(1361)	(107)	(252)		
Congruent: Rewards = costs	65	47	53	31	65	48	72	49		
	(2284)		(1569)	(4549)	(365)	(1102)	(848)	(2522)		
None	52	30	28	19	37	33	64	39		
	(1073)	(4532)	(1093)	(3210)	(154)	(1012)	(348)	(811)		
None	72	59	71	43	68	53	78	57		
	(2336)	(6503)	(1350)	(3731)	(417)	(661)	(565)	(1223)		

1. The numbers in parentheses are the number of persons who were concerned or not concerned about the future in each category. The numbers in the columns are the percentages of persons who were concerned or not concerned about the future in each category.

The effect of the objective indices of occupation, income and education on certainty with the future is shown in the evidence presented in Table 11.11. We have added to them the effect of age as well. As can be seen, certainty about work future and the future in general varies inversely with age and directly with the other factors. Thus, the younger the respondent the more apt is he to be able to foresee his work future, and also make plans for the future easily. The more education he has, the higher his income and the higher his occupational status the more certain he is about the future.

When we look at variations among ethnic groups we see that for the French only high education gives the same kind of certainty about the future that it gives to other respondents. Otherwise neither youth, nor high income, nor high occupational status produce as high a proportion of French who are certain about the future as they do for other respondents, although they do have comparable effects. We can conclude that age and these socio-economic status variables probably explain much of the variation in the certainty people feel about their future although they explain it least well for the French. Other factors as well must affect the certainty that the French feel about their futures to a larger extent than is true for the English and the Canadians.

One might speculate that one of these other factors could be the numerical predominance of the French in the area in which respondents live: where the French are numerically predominant they can make future plans with more certainty. In all three, this does not hold true whatever the table it refers. All ethnic groups are uncertain about their work futures in both English and French speaking statistical districts. It does seem certainly to increase considerably for all ethnic groups except those who live in districts designated as "French", and this is true for the French themselves as well as for the English and French. The French, in other words, tend to

Table III. (Continued)

The Effects of Age, Education, Income and Occupation

in Percentages

Occupation	E.C. Future		W.C. Future		T.C. Future		W.C. Future		T.C. Future		W.C. Future		T.C. Future	
	Week	Year	Week	Year	Week	Year	Week	Year	Week	Year	Week	Year	Week	Year
Unskilled, manual	(972)	(2996)	(600)	(1409)	(146)	(471)	(442)	(13)	(442)	(13)	(442)	(13)	(442)	(13)
Skilled, manual	(657)	(1934)	(309)	(1074)	(52)	(199)	(275)	(825)	(275)	(825)	(275)	(825)	(275)	(825)
Skilled	(620)	(2129)	(584)	(1769)	(462)	(395)	(270)	(725)	(270)	(725)	(270)	(725)	(270)	(725)
Semi-skilled, unskilled	(801)	(2471)	(828)	(2035)	(45)	(32)	(264)	(37)	(264)	(37)	(264)	(37)	(264)	(37)
Farmers, farm laborers	(359)	(1315)	(146)	(601)	(47)	(42)	(64)	(131)	(47)	(42)	(64)	(131)	(47)	(42)

1. The figures in the first column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1920. The figures in the second column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1930. The figures in the third column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1940. The figures in the fourth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1950. The figures in the fifth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1960. The figures in the sixth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1970. The figures in the seventh column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1980. The figures in the eighth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 1990. The figures in the ninth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2000. The figures in the tenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2010. The figures in the eleventh column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2020. The figures in the twelfth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2030. The figures in the thirteenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2040. The figures in the fourteenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2050. The figures in the fifteenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2060. The figures in the sixteenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2070. The figures in the seventeenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2080. The figures in the eighteenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2090. The figures in the nineteenth column are the percentages of the total population in each occupation in 2100.

more certain about their work futures in French dominated districts than they do in English dominated ones. So far as certainty about future plans in general are concerned ethnic predominance in a district has no effect. The French are as apt to be uncertain in French dominated districts as they are in English ones.

On the basis of the other evidence presented in Table 11.12, it would appear that the economic nature of the area a respondent lives in has more effect on the certainty with which he faces the future than does ethnic predominance. People living in the most industrialized and economically diversified regions of Canada are more apt to be certain about their work futures (Quebec and Ontario) than are those living in areas where there is dependence on a few products (New Brunswick), especially, where there is considerable unemployment and depressed economic conditions (Maritimes). Since the effects dominated by urban tend to be in the West, economic conditions, rather than the predominance of "French" may be the more important factor in explaining the uncertainty of respondents in these districts.

Not only are respondents who live in the most industrialized regions of Canada more certain about their futures but those living in large cities where the effects of industrialization are most directly experienced are the most certain. This is especially true for the English and the "Canadians". Lack of certainty about the future is an index of feeling of instability, we can conclude that the stability of the rural, farm life is indeed a realistic and meaningful ideal.

We are left nevertheless with the conclusion that uncertainty about the future is experienced by a majority of Canadians. This uncertainty about their work futures. The French feel less of an experience uncertainty than other kinds of Canadians, although this is not necessarily because they are more certain about the future. It is other people: when they feel overrewarded, and not economically deprived, when they have advanced education, high incomes, and high

The Effects of Residential Location
on Certainty About the Future,
in Percentages

	A.C.		I.C.		OTHERS		CANADIANS	
	Work	%	Future Plans	%	Future Plans	%	Work	%
Ethnic Composition of								
English dominant								
70	45	53	33	74	46	73	49	
(1710)	(5831)	(126)	(453)	(171)	(542)	(610)	(1540)	
French dominant								
77	48	52	32	75	44	86	53	
(209)	(525)	(1925)	(5367)	(88)	(176)	(168)	(529)	
Other dominant								
67	42	45	35	50	41	55	53	
(143)	(601)	(33)	(60)	(36)	(155)	(53)	(232)	
None dominant								
63	50	54	32	49	44	75	54	
(1349)	(4121)	(389)	(1104)	(287)	(820)	(484)	(1375)	
Maritimers								
42	28	45	26	50	17	72	32	
(456)	(1603)	(141)	(436)	(18)	(54)	(108)	(250)	
Quebec								
75	50	53	32	65	48	82	45	
(281)	(749)	(1958)	(5476)	(132)	(258)	(205)	(411)	
in towns								
75	49	55	38	66	46	71	43	
(1334)	(4772)	(282)	(794)	(165)	(589)	(560)	(1577)	
in cities								
67	51	54	27	55	45	75	51	
(1540)	(3954)	(92)	(278)	(267)	(792)	(472)	(1213)	
farm, village								
54	39	34	24	63	35	82	32	
(952)	(2556)	(660)	(1478)	(50)	(246)	(465)	(1321)	
in rural areas								
68	44	62	28	53	31	74	41	
(335)	(1111)	(1011)	(1011)	(1011)	(1011)	(353)	(1101)	
in urban areas								
78	54	59	37	65	44	78	51	
(1151)	(1151)	(1151)	(1151)	(1151)	(1151)	(1151)	(1151)	

It is interesting to see that they can foresee their future are work very well or better value
in the future and we feel they can make plans for the future very easily in many cases.

occupational status, and when they live in industrialized areas which are not necessarily concentrated in districts where they themselves are numerically predominant or, as in Quebec, where they have a monopoly on political power.

It would be too facile at this point to suggest that the consistently lower certainty of the French about their futures — especially their future in general — is due to some general psychological difference in "ethnic mentality". As matters stand before such a conclusion is drawn, a more intensive analysis of structural variables, beyond the scope of this survey, is required.

III

Political Attitudes and Experience

Respondents were asked a series of questions which allow us to make certain observations about their voting behavior, their interest in political activity and their sense of political efficacy. It is to this area of their lives we wish now to turn. We shall begin with their voting behavior and voting intentions.

In the federal election of 1961 about 88% of the respondents said that they exercised their right to vote. The proportion in each ethnic group who said they voted ranged from a high of 93% among the English, 75% among the French to a low of 60% among persons of "other" ethnic group membership. How the people who said they voted, did cast their votes is shown in the first part of Table 11.13.

Even discounting a bandwagon effect, it is clear that only one of the political parties in Canada — the Liberal party — has a universal appeal comparable to the universality which both parties in the United States have tried to achieve in the past. The N.D.P. party comes closest to the Liberal Party in the success of its

appeal to universalism, although its policies presumably appeal more frequently to the non-French. The Conservative party's appeal is a particularistic one appealing mainly to the English, and the Social Credit appeal, which is supposed to appeal to all, is a universalistic one.

Table 11.13

Voting Behavior and Voting Intention

by Ethnicity, by Province

	B.C.	P.C.	W.B.C.	E.C.	W.B.C.	E.C.
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Voting Behavior</u>						
Liberal	37	43	48	42	35	35
Conservative	32	12	19	22	10	10
N.D.P.	9	3	11	11	8	8
Social Credit	3	8	4	2	4	4
	(9438)	(5363)	(1120)	(2603)	(154)	117
<u>Voting Intention</u>						
Liberal	18	21	21	21	26	26
Conservative	13	5	7	9	3	3
N.D.P.	7	2	9	10	5	5
Social Credit	3	4	2	1	1	1
Undecided	25	25	31	28	18	18
Will vote for the man	16	25	9	18	27	27
	(1172)	(1184)	(1001)	(1501)	(1501)	117

There would seem to be, in other words, only one party in Canada which appeals successfully to all ethnic groups. As can be seen in the second part of Table 11.13 this appeal has remained constant since 1951, at least among those who are willing and able to state a voting preference. As can be seen these people make up less than half -- considerably less in the case of the French and the Ukrainians -- of potential voters.

During these two years of political apathy, or at least of relative apathy, the nature of the interest of the individual party is not clear. The value of intervention is a relative measure. It is possible, therefore, considering the voting strength of the parties in Canada, that federal elections have tended to produce minority governments with some regularity in recent years.

Given this pattern of actual and potential behaviour, how interested are respondents in political activity? Table 11.14 presents some evidence with which we may assess degrees of political interest and disinterest. We have chosen to present the proportions of people who are politically disinterested in voting, who rarely or never discuss political problems with other people and who are uninterested in both federal and provincial politics. It can be seen that the proportion of the population who are disinterested in voting is about 15 per cent of the population who are disinterested in both federal and provincial politics. The proportion of the population who are disinterested in voting is about 15 per cent of the population who are disinterested in both federal and provincial politics.

Table 11.14

Political Disinterest, by Ethnicity, in Percentages

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CHINESE	INDIAN
	%	%	%	%	%
Did not vote in 1963	15 (11161)	13 (7054)	34 (1693)	16 (3032)	21 (1001)
Talks about politics rarely or never	17 (11173)	15 (7052)	11 (1593)	11 (3032)	11 (1001)
Is not interested in federal or provincial politics	12 (11170)	24 (7054)	15 (1693)	15 (3032)	10 (1001)
Is not taking part in political association	17 (11173)	15 (7052)	11 (1593)	11 (3032)	11 (1001)

not to be all the way behind an army of a few hundred men. In fact, politics in a regular form of government is very rare. In fact, of these respondents, despite the fact that the majority of people do vote. It is an associational activity in a sense to be

Political interest is least widespread among political disinterested is most widespread -- among the French. Consequently, fewer of them than the English voted in 1955, fewer of them than anyone else talk about politics even occasionally and fewer of them are interested in politics.

Is the greater French disinterest in politics paralleled by a greater French surpriselessness of the general ineffectiveness of governments? The answer to this, as Table 11.15 shows is yes.

Table 11.15

Political Inefficacy, by Ethnicity, in Percentages

	E.C.	E.C.	OTHERS	Total		
	%	%	%	E.C.	E.C.	OTHERS
Governments are not interested in what most people think	42 (11161)	56 (7054)	70 (1683)	42 (11161)	56 (7054)	70 (1683)
Neither the federal or provincial government takes care of people's interests	8 (11170)	15 (7046)	21 (1683)	8 (11170)	15 (7046)	21 (1683)

Almost half (45%) of all respondents do not think that governments are interested in what people think but the French are especially convinced this is so. And, a small core of them, questioned about federal and provincial governments' ability to take care of them, except for Canadians speaking languages other than French or English, are nearish the same idea, most of the other respondents do not see the government as taking care of people's interests.

... and the great value for ...
 ... and which kind of government do they think is best
 efficient? The evidence is presented in Table 11.16.

Table 11.16

Federal - Provincial Attitudes by Ethnicity
 in Percentages

	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS	CANADIANS		
	%	%	%	E.C.	F.C.	OTHERS
<u>Issues of political interest</u>						
Federal	29	11	27	32	21	36
Provincial	21	26	20	16	15	14
Both	54	30	27	33	33	30
	(11170)	(7054)	(1693)	(3082)	(132)	(237)
<u>Attitudes of Government Care</u>						
Federal better	24	12	14	21	16	16
Provincial better	31	35	30	29	26	26
Both	22	18	22	23	25	25
	(11170)	(7048)	(1693)	(3082)	(132)	(237)

Federal politics are of more interest to most of these respondents than are provincial politics, although not necessarily so. In fact if a respondent is interested in politics at all he is more apt to be interested in both kinds of politics rather than in one to the exclusion of the other. This is as true for the French as it is for other respondents. But if the French do select only one kind of politics to be interested in they are, unlike all other respondents, more apt to choose provincial politics, as their focus of interest.

While federal politicians are more concerned with the abilities of the respective governments to take care of people, interests vary in the opposite direction. It is like being in court with someone who just really do not think as up to snuff yet. The provincial governments are ever more focussed on what else to do for people's interests and there is agreement about this among the respondents. At the same time, the French are least apt to view the federal government as having any value and "others" would be closer to them most closely. There is nevertheless no complete rejection of the views of the federal government by any group.

Can the lower level of political interest and the greater skepticism of the worth of government among the French be a result of a discontented feeling? Is it some consequence of their socio-economic status in Quebec? Or is it a consequence of their lower socio-economic status? We say now consider these questions.

Let us look first at the politically disinterested. All of those who do not see governments as really doing a job of helping people. The evidence for the politically disinterested is shown in Table 11.17 and in Table 11.19.

For the most part, these data show that political disinterest is a social phenomenon, if social class is measured by income, occupation and education, rather than an age or sex phenomenon. Similar conclusions have been made in other studies of political interest and disinterest. Thus the lower the social class the higher is the disinterest in political activities. Men are more disinterested than non-manual workers; less educated people are more disinterested than highly educated and high income people.

Figure 1 shows a vertical strip of a film negative, likely from a movie. The frames are arranged vertically, showing a sequence of images. The top frame shows a person in a dark, possibly underwater or night-time setting. The subsequent frames show a person in a dark, possibly underwater or night-time setting, with some frames showing a bright light source. The bottom frame shows a person in a dark, possibly underwater or night-time setting, with some frames showing a bright light source.

2061 Did not vote in 1961

Education, Age, Income, Occupation and Occupation,

in Percentages

Age	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	100
Under 20 years	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
20 - 29 years	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
30 years or more	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Under 25, 100	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54
25, 250 - 25,400	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46
25, 100 or more	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
25, 250	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64	64
25, 250 - 25,400	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46
25, 100 or more	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35

(continued on next page)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1950 Census of the United States, 1950, Table 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Table 11.13 (continued)

Respondents Who View Governments with Disenchantment by

in Percentages

Occupation	A		B		C		D		E	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Professional, Managerial	32 (2972)	8 (3034)	48 (1353)	14 (1449)	37 (440)	11 (474)	25 (1054)	12 (3034)		
Clerical, Sales, Service	39 (1901)	7 (1943)	59 (1020)	9 (1076)	38 (197)	8 (199)	34 (510)	3 (325)		
Skilled	50 (2086)	9 (2148)	60 (1667)	11 (1781)	48 (364)	9 (385)	39 (724)	3 (214)		
Semi-skilled, unskilled	50 (2429)	9 (2475)	65 (1951)	19 (2053)	33 (459)	12 (475)	42 (229)	13 (213)		
Farmer, Farm laborers	53 (1265)	6 (1315)	65 (567)	24 (600)	44 (412)	22 (132)	57 (185)	15 (103)		

a) Respondents are not interested in what most people think.

There are, nevertheless some striking differences shown in these data which suggest that ethnicity is having some effect on political interest. In particular the French are more politically disinterested than are the English, the Others and the Canadians, regardless of the factor that is held constant. The only point at which ethnicity disappears as an effective factor is among the highly educated, and even here, the results are not consistent since both highly educated French and "Others" refrained from voting in the 1963 election in remarkably high proportions. Presumably these people are not appealed to by any of the present political parties in Canada.

These data raise some further questions. First, do the French, also view governments as not being concerned with the interests of the people proportionately more often than others, regardless of their status characteristics? Table 11.18 presents evidence bearing on this question.

Let us look first at those people who feel that governments are not interested in what most people think (column (e)). As with political disinterest, it is generally the low income, low educated people and the people in manual occupations who feel this way most frequently; increasing income, education or occupational status reduces the feeling. But, as before, consistently more of the French feel this way regardless of what factor is held constant. In other words, these factors seem to be having a comparable effect on all ethnic groupings of people but the effect is less important for the French than it is for other kinds of respondents.

When we look at those people who think neither they nor government in Canada is taking care of people's interests (column (f)) we find that the effect of these factors is different for the various

1965, 1966, 1967. None of them are statistically significant. But the English are, on the whole, more apt to be disinterested. We shall return to these people later. But for the Quebecers, these status factors do make a difference although the effect of income and education is different for the "Others" compared to the English and the Canadians. For these latter groupings, the lower the education and income the more apt are they to feel that neither government takes care of people's interests. This is similar to the relationship reported in other studies on political disinterest. But for the "Others", the effect is in the opposite direction -- the higher the education and income, the more apt these people are to be disenchanted with the effectiveness of the government.

We are now ready to raise a second question. Are these results on political disinterest and political inefficiency a consequence of where people reside in Canada, and through this index, of the social organization in which they spend their lives? Let us begin with political disinterest once more. Evidence on the effects of residential location is presented in Table 11.19.

Perhaps the most startling observation that emerges out of these data is that people living in Quebec are more disinterested in politics than people living anywhere else in Canada. Regardless of ethnicity, they are more apt to have refrained from voting in 1965, they talk about politics rarely or never, and they are disinterested in both federal and provincial politics. One might speculate that the English and "Others" in Quebec are more like the French than they are like the other English because of the predominance of the French in Quebec and to some extent this appears to be so. Thus where the French are predominant there is a greater proportion of English who are

were disinterested in politics than those of any other group. They are the only ethnic group who show this pattern. Outside of Quebec and for the most part, outside of French dominated districts the French disinterest in politics is not much greater and in some areas, is very similar in proportion to that of the other ethnic groups. Rural-urban residence appears to have only a slight effect on the political interest of either the French or the English with the people in large cities being slightly less apt to vote and slightly more apt to be disinterested in both federal and provincial politics than their rural colleagues.

In Table 11.20 are presented the effects of residential location on people's estimate of the efficiency of governments. As for the French in Quebec and also the French in the West who are most apt to think that governments are not interested in what people think but the latter are not nearly so disenchanted with the effectiveness of governments as are the Quebec French. As with political disinterest, it is in districts where the French predominate that the French sense of political efficacy is consistently lowest, a phenomenon that is not characteristic of any other ethnic grouping. In other regions and districts the French sense of political inefficacy does not differ much from that of the other groupings of respondents.

Let us look finally at the interest and efficacy respondents grant to the federal and to the provincial governments. To what extent is the lower interest in and greater disenchantment that the French of Quebec show toward governments in general paralleled by a difference in the focus of attention among those who are interested in political activity and who do grant some effectiveness to one or other or both kinds of government? Since regional location appears to have no discernible effect we shall consider that evidence first. The evidence on political interest is presented in Table 11.21, on governmental effectiveness in Table 11.22.

Estimated Population and Estimated of Government Departments,
in Percentages

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)	(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)	(z)
Harm, village	19	36 (2567)	25	12	25 (1491)	16	9	42 (246)	23	10	43 (420)															
Small city	20	33 (3753)	23	8	41 (2437)	21	21	30 (426)	21	15	35 (1220)															
Large city	30	27 (4013)	21	14	35 (3395)	16	12	27 (1017)	23	25	22 (192)															
English predominant																										
English predominant	26	30 (5869)	21	22	31 (453)	24	13	33 (542)	17	25	28 (1520)															
Other predominant	32	39 (529)	24	9	36 (5419)	16	17	15 (176)	14	17	30 (33)															
None predominant	22	40 (210)	15	13	13 (86)	60	19	23 (435)	17	14	35 (24)															
None predominant	24	33 (4155)	24	19	32 (1099)	20	13	32 (520)	29	12	35 (177)															
Unsettled																										
Unsettled	27	32 (1003)	16	15	36 (430)	24	17	33 (54)	17	32	42 (260)															
Unsettled	19	19 (152)	22	5	30 (5524)	16	16	15 (244)	10	19	39 (417)															
Unsettled	23	20 (1719)	25	21	29 (795)	22	14	20 (802)	24	21	23 (130)															
Unsettled	22	19 (4023)	24	19	25 (211)	33	15	30 (792)	22	20	37 (1270)															

(a) Estimated population and estimated of government departments
(b) Estimated population and estimated of government departments

effective than the provincial government as per the opposite. The major difference of opinion occurs among those respondents living in Quebec or in districts in which the French predominate, since of course are primarily the same localities. Here the French are overwhelmingly convinced, in a ratio of 2:1, that the provincial government is as effective as or more effective than the federal government. Whereas the English opt for the federal government, although not to the exclusion of the provincial government in so great a degree. Others and Canadians living in Quebec are evenly divided in their estimates of the two governments.

That this may be a small community --- large community difference is suggested, when we look at the evidence on where respondents reside. People in rural areas and in small cities, regardless of ethnicity are more apt to view the provincial governments as more effective. In this opinion they are joined by the French and the "others" who live in large cities, while the English and the Canadians are about equally divided in their estimate of the two types of government.

It may also be a generational difference as the evidence in Table 11.23 suggests. Increasing age tends to lead these respondents, regardless of ethnicity, to view the federal government as more effective than the provincial governments or to view them as equally effective. Among the young, it is the provincial government which is viewed as being more effective and for these people ethnicity has little effect on their judgment. It would appear that Quebec youth are not the only youth whose "imagination have been captured" by a provincial government.

Table 47.22

Age and Sex of Government Employees
in Percentages

	20	43	16	3	35	13	18	20	15
Under 30 years	(1947)				(1678)			(163)	
30 - 49 years	25	32	23	12	35	17	11	36	15
	(4786)				(3444)			(750)	
50 years or more	28	25	24	15	31	23	16	26	30
	(4091)				(2105)			(544)	

- (a) Federal government takes best care of people's interests.
- (b) Provincial government takes best care of people's interests.
- (c) Both governments take care of people's interests.

Summary

1. A comparison of the background of people who changed not to be in an ethnic group with those who do, suggests that the "Canadians" -- have characteristics that are different from the requirements of an industrial society, and particularly an industrial society of the North American continent. They are middle class and they are not as well educated as the economic characteristics. They speak English. They are not as well educated although they have been particularly well educated. They are not as well educated with other people out across ethnic lines. At the same time they take up only a seventh of the total population. The majority of respondents view themselves as having an ethnic background.

2. History of ethnic groups in Canada is not consistent with the history of the levels of French and English ancestry in North America. The French and the English ancestry in North America are not the same. But the French do not understand the English language as well as the English.

3. When level of education is compared with income and occupation, the French tend to be overrewarded in higher proportions than are other respondents. Nevertheless they do not think this is so more often than others when they are asked to compare their education with their financial position.
4. Economic mobility is experienced by only a small percentage of each ethnic group. The majority of respondents view themselves, intergenerationally, as stable or as slightly mobile.
5. Similar proportions of each ethnic group have difficulty planning for their futures, although their worst futures are felt to be more certain than their general futures. The French are consistently the least certain about their futures. But a very high proportion of all respondents feel uncertain about the future.
6. Certainty about the future depends less on the ethnic predominance of a group in a particular district than it does on the economic conditions of the district. The more industrialized the district, the more certain are respondents about their future.
7. Certainty about the future varies directly with socio-economic status and a sense of overrewardedness, and inversely with age. But these factors explain the feelings of certainty of the French less well than they explain the feelings of other respondents.
8. Political interest and political efficacy vary with ethnicity. The French are proportionately least interested in politics. They are also least apt to view governments as being responsive to the opinions and interests of the people.
9. The focus of political interest for all respondents but the French tends to be on both the federal and provincial governments with federal politics viewed as somewhat more interesting. The French are also interested in both kinds of politics, but provincial politics have a slight edge over federal politics.

10. Provincial governments are viewed as more effective in taking care of the interests of people than is the federal government. The French in particular adopt this view point. It is also held by people who live in the less industrialized regions of Canada.
11. The French who live in the Province of Quebec are especially disinterested in politics, and view governments, especially the federal government as ineffective in taking care of people's interests.
12. Regardless of ethnicity people under 30 years of age are most apt to consider provincial governments as being more effective than the federal government.

APPENDICE I

Méthode

Les résultats de cette étude proviennent d'un échantillon stratifié (weighted multi-stage stratified area random sample) de 4163 interviews faits dans l'ensemble du Canada. L'univers de cet échantillon a été tiré et constitué par l'ensemble des listes électorales préparées pour l'élection générale du Canada de 1963.

1. Choix de Districts Electoraux

La première étape de l'échantillonnage a été de sélectionner un certain nombre de districts électoraux où se faisaient les interviews. A cette fin il a été tout d'abord décidé de diviser le Canada ⁽¹⁾ en 5 strates régionales. Ce sont: 1- les Provinces Atlantiques (Nouveau Brunswick, Nouvelle-Écosse, Nouveau-Brunswick et Île du Prince-Édouard); 2- Québec; 3- Ontario; 4- Les Prairies (Saskatchewan, Manitoba, et Alberta); 5- Colombie Britannique.

En second lieu, il fut décidé de diviser les divers districts électoraux tels que définis dans le Rapport du Directeur général des Elections (26ième Election générale de 1963) en districts urbains et ruraux et de stratifier en 3 groupes ces nouvelles catégories de districts.

La division des districts électoraux en urbains et ruraux a été faite de la manière suivante: 1- un district électoral urbain fut défini tel à la condition que tous ses bureaux de vote aient été considérés urbains dans le Rapport du Directeur général des Elections (26ième Election générale de 1963) et tout district électoral sans distinction de bureaux de vote qui tombait dans son territoire

(1) Les territoires du Yukon et du Nord-Ouest ont été exclus.

une des 23 grandes agglomérations urbaines du Canada telles que déterminées au Recensement canadien de 1961.⁽¹⁾ Les districts urbains déterminés, le résidu des 263 districts électoraux de l'élection générale de 1963 a formé ce que nous avons appelé les Districts ruraux.

La stratification des districts urbains et ruraux de chacune des 5 strates régionales (Provinces Atlantiques, Québec, Ontario, Prairies et Colombie Britannique) en trois nouvelles subdivisions s'est effectuée en tenant compte des diverses proportions de Canadiens d'origine française vivant dans chacune des districts électoraux du Canada et ce pour les strates régionales Atlantiques, Ontario, Prairies et Colombie Britannique. En ce qui concerne la strate régionale Québec, ce sont les proportions de Canadiens d'origine non française qui ont servi de principe de stratification. Voici les définitions de ces diverses strates.

1a. Provinces Atlantiques - Districts Urbains

Strate I Districts électoraux urbains dont la proportion de Canadiens français est inférieure à 5 pour cent de la population totale de chacun d'entre eux.

Strate II Districts électoraux urbains dont la proportion de Canadiens français est comprise entre 5 pour cent et 10 pour cent.

Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français dépasse 10 pour cent.

(1) Ces agglomérations urbaines sont:

St-Jean (N.B.), Halifax (N.-E.), St-Jean (N.B.), Montréal, Québec, Chatham et Trois-Rivières (Québec), Hamilton, Windsor, Sarnia, London, Oshawa, Ottawa, Sudbury, Toronto et Windsor (Ontario), Winnipeg (Man.), Regina et Saskatoon (Sask.), Calgary et Edmonton (Alta.), Vancouver et Victoria (C.B.).

1b. Provinces Atlantiques: Distriets Ruraux

- Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est inférieure à 25 pour cent.
- Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est comprise entre 25 pour cent et 50 pour cent.
- Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français dépasse 50 pour cent.

2a. Province de Québec: Distriets Urbains

- Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens non français est inférieure à 5 pour cent.
- Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens non français est comprise entre 5 pour cent et 25 pour cent.
- Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens non français dépasse 25 pour cent.

2b. Province de Québec: Distriets Ruraux

- Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens non français est inférieure à 5 pour cent.
- Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens non français est comprise entre 5 pour cent et 20 pour cent.
- Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens non français dépasse 20 pour cent.

3. Province d'Ontario: Distriets Urbains et Ruraux

- Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est inférieure à 10 pour cent.

Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est comprise entre 10 pour cent et 25 pour cent.

Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français dépasse 25 pour cent.

4a. Provinces: Districte Québec

Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est inférieure à 4.3 pour cent.

Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est comprise entre 4.3 pour cent et 5.2 pour cent.

Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français dépasse 5.2 pour cent.

4b. Provinces: Districte Nouveau Brunswick

Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est inférieure à 10 pour cent.

Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est comprise entre 10 pour cent et 20 pour cent.

Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français dépasse 20 pour cent.

5a. Colombie Britannique: Districte Vancouver

Strate I Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est inférieure à 3.2 pour cent.

Strate II Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français est égale à 3.2 pour cent.

Strate III Districts électoraux dont la proportion de Canadiens français dépasse 3.2 pour cent.

Colombie Britannique: Ruraux

<u>Strate I</u>	Vancouver-Sud
<u>Strate II</u>	Vancouver-Est et Victoria
<u>Strate III</u>	Vancouver-Burrard

Colombie Britannique: Rural

<u>Strate I</u>	Coast-Capilano, Nanaimo - Cowichan - Les Isles, Okanagan, Boundary.
<u>Strate II</u>	New Westminster, Kootenay-Ouest, Okanagan Revelstoke
<u>Strate III</u>	Comox-Alberni, Burnaby-Coquitlam, Kootenay-Est.

2. Choix du Nombre d'Interviews

Le nombre total d'interviews à effectuer dans tout le pays a été fixé à 4,000 et le nombre d'interviews à effectuer dans les strates régionales (Atlantiques, Québec, Ontario, Prairies et Colombie Britannique) a été déterminé proportionnellement à la population totale de chacune de ces strates. (1)

Le nombre d'interviews à effectuer dans chacune des strates de districts électoraux, à savoir Atlantiques districts ruraux I, Atlantique Districts ruraux II, etc., a été déterminé proportionnellement à la population d'électeurs vivant dans une strate et ce, relativement à la population totale d'électeurs de chaque strate régionale. (On trouvera à la fin du présent Appendice les tableaux qui présentent les diverses proportions et nombre d'interviews établis par chaque strate régionale)

(1) Les proportions d'habitants de chaque strate (Atlantique, Québec, Ontario, Prairies et Colombie Britannique) ont été prises dans le Recensement de 1951, les Territoires du Yukon et du Nord-Ouest ayant été exclus au préalable.

bureau de vote; l'autre était la liste anglophone et était composée par le résidu des listes qui n'appartenaient pas à la première strate. Dans Québec, un processus semblable a été suivi sauf que la liste de division fut une représentation de noms français d'électeurs. Ainsi dans le Québec, une première strate dite minoritaire a été formée par toutes les listes où la représentation de noms non-français d'électeurs inscrits à un même bureau de vote atteignait grosso modo 25 pour cent de la population inscrite sur une même liste; le résidu des listes qui n'appartenaient pas au premier groupe a formé la seconde strate dite majoritaire.

Cette division des listes d'électeurs effectuée, les proportions respectives d'électeurs inscrits dans chaque strate de listes ont été établies pour chacun des districts électoraux faisant partie de l'échantillon. Ces proportions ont servi à déterminer le nombre d'interviews à faire dans chacune des strates de listes de chacun des districts électoraux choisis.

4. Principe de Pondération

Afin d'assurer que l'échantillon comprenne un nombre suffisant de Canadiens français vivant en dehors du Québec et de ce fait d'analyse il a été décidé de tripier chaque choix au hasard de noms français d'électeurs. De même dans le Québec, il fut décidé de tripier chaque choix au hasard de noms non-français d'électeurs. Cependant, cette multiplication ayant un effet sur le nombre total d'interviews, il fut décidé de diminuer d'un tiers le nombre d'interviews non-français en dehors du Québec. Par contre le nombre de noms français dans le Québec est resté tel quel.

2. Résultats Obtenus lors des Entrevues

À la suite du travail d'entrevues il a été obtenu ce qui suit:

Tableau I.4

Nombre d'Interviews Obtenus pour
Les Faits

Obtenus (a)	Prévus (b)		Total Obtenus	Total Prévus
	Français	Non-Français		
Québec Français	861	464	1342	955
non-français	76	466	542	672
Reste Français	483	60	543	634
du non-français	324	1594	1918	1700
pays			4062	4346

(a) Groupe ethnique du répondant tel que défini par lui à la Question 2-30.

(b) Groupe ethnique du répondant tel que défini dans l'échantillon original, voir section 4 de cet appendice, Principe de Sélection.

Tableau I.5

Total d'Interviews Obtenus pour
Chaque Groupe pour Le Pays

Interviews	Interviews	Total
Français	Non-français	
1504	1918	3422

20. Pondération dans l'Analyse

Etant donné la sur-représentation et la sous-représentation d'un certain nombre de résidences (adresses) choisies, les interviews obtenus ont été à leur tour pondérés au moment de l'analyse. Cette pondération fut effectuée de la façon suivante:

		Interviews obtenus	Pondération l'échantillon	Pondération de l'analyse
Québec	Noms français	1042	1.0	6
	Noms non-français	562	.33	1
Reste du pays	Noms français	543	.33	2
	Noms non-français	1915	1.5	9

- (a) Afin que tous les nombres soient entiers, la pondération de l'analyse est six fois plus grande que la pondération de l'échantillonnage.

En d'autres mots, chaque interview qui au moment de l'échantillonnage avait été défini comme français dans le Québec, compte pour 6 interviews qu'il ait été un interview français ou non. De même, un interview non-français au moment de l'échantillonnage qu'il l'ait été ou non, compte pour 2 interviews dans l'analyse pour le Québec. En dehors du Québec, un interview obtenu déterminé français compte pour 2 interviews et un interview obtenu déterminé non-français compte pour 9 interviews.

Circonscriptions de
 la région
 de la strate
 régionale

Strate II
 (5-20% de
 C.A.)

14 Chateaugay-Huntingdon-

St-Jean-Iberville -

Hull

Terrebonne

Richmond - Val-de

Compton - Frontenac

Beauharnois - Salaberry

Nombre total des électeurs (264,382)

Strate III

5.9

6

Getineau

25.5

17

30

100

100

100

(2,201,764)

75

Algeronville - Deschênes

25.5

20

10

100

100

100

100

distribu- tion des électeurs de la sénate régionale	districts électoraux	choisis	répartition des électeurs de la stratégie régionale	d'inten- sité votants	bureaux de votation	des électeurs à l'unanimité dans chacun
---	-------------------------	---------	--	-----------------------------	---------------------------	--

Table 1
(cont.) de
C.F.C.

34.6	24	Ontario	9.6	46	293	0
		Hamilton ouest	5.7	27	172	0
		Devenport	2.8	13	162	0
		York-Centre	11.4	54	460	0
		Hamilton-sud	9.3	44	275	0
		Trinity	2.7	13	155	0
		Danforth	5.6	27	232	0
		York-Humber	6.1	29	245	0
		London	6.1	29	188	0
		Reeddale	3.3	16	147	0
		York-Scarborough	18.3	87	643	0
		Kingsen	6.9	33	181	0
		Waterloo-nord	2.6	27	262	0
		York-est	6.6	30	256	0
		Nombre total des électeurs		(729,335)		

Table 11
(cont.) de

42.2	2	Carlton	58.3	34	369	3.0
		Essex-Ouest	41.7	25	257	4.8
		Nombre total des électeurs		(133,599)		



APPROVED BY
OF THE BOARD



Statut de la région	Répartition des électeurs de la strate régionale	Nombre de districts électoraux	Districts électoraux choisis	Répartition des électeurs de la strate de districts électoraux	Nombre d'intervius	Bureaux de votation français	Nombre de bureaux de votation des électeurs dans chacun des districts
42.6	26	Marquette (Man.)	5.6	17	3	159	0
		Red Deer (Alb.)	7.5	22	0	195	0
		Yorkton (Sask.)	6.4	18	0	186	0
		Qu'Appelle (Sask.)	4.7	14	0	171	3.1
		Battle River-Camrose (Al.)	7.0	21	0	249	0
		Acadia (Al.)	5.4	16	0	184	0
		Bow River (Al.)	7.1	21	0	196	0
		Brandon-Souris (Man.)	8.3	25	0	185	0
		Moose Mountain (Sask.)	5.2	15	0	192	6
		Westaskin (Al.)	6.3	19	0	189	0
		Medicine Hat (Al.)	7.3	22	0	215	0
		Moose Jaw-Lake Centre (Sask.)	10.2	30	0	221	0
		Lacled (Alberta)	5.8	17	0	224	0
		Portage Neepawa (Man.)	7.2	22	0	166	3.4



Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale

Nombre de
 districts
 élus
 de la série
 régionale



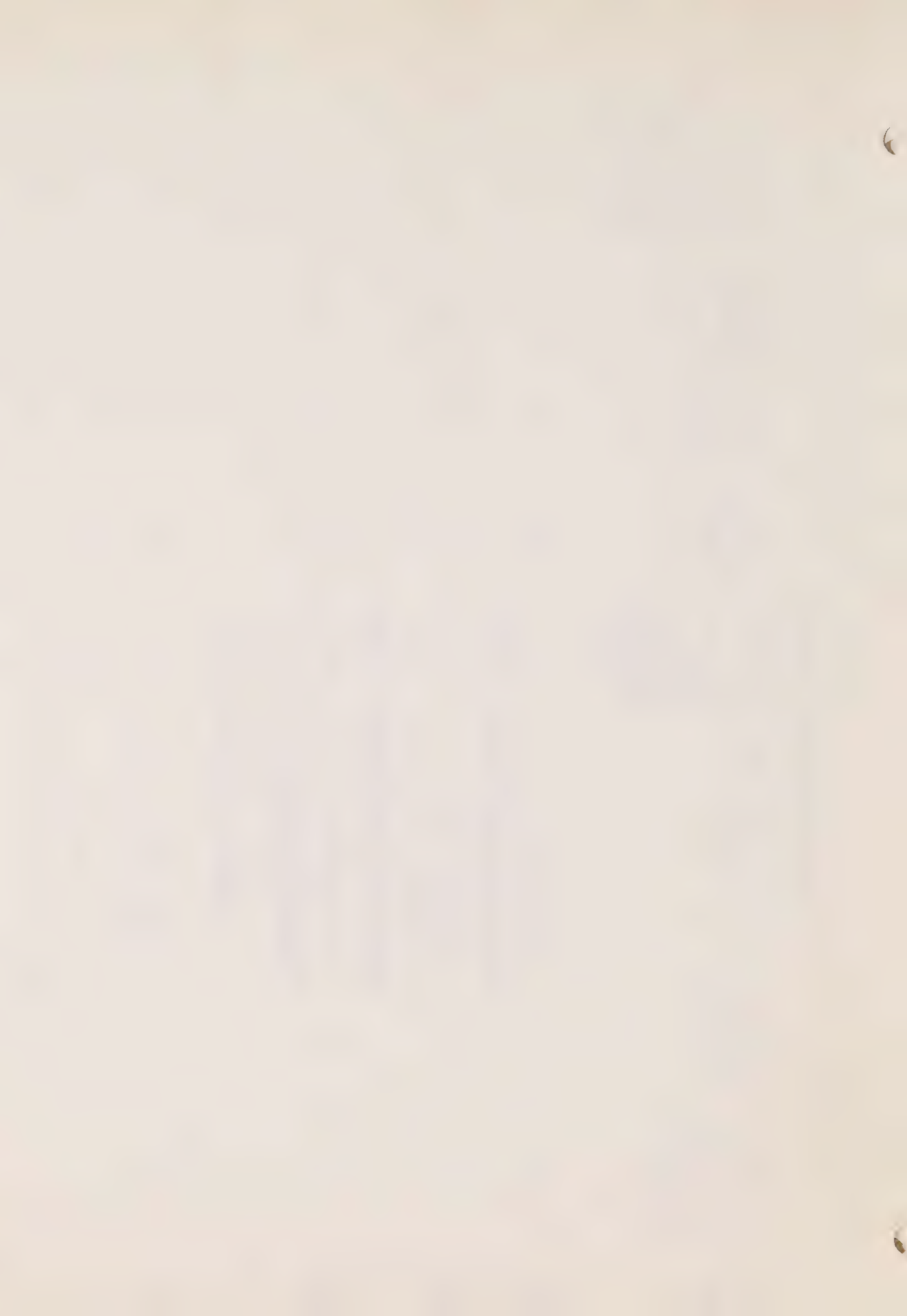
Statutes de
 des
 de la stru-
 régleme-
 des
 des

Statute I
 (25.25 de
 Statute II
 (25.25 de
 Statute III
 (25.25 de

des
 de la stru-
 régleme-
 des
 des

Statute I
 (25.25 de
 Statute II
 (25.25 de
 Statute III
 (25.25 de

Statute I
 (25.25 de
 Statute II
 (25.25 de
 Statute III
 (25.25 de





APPENDIX 2

In order to simplify the analysis, summary measures of a number of variables have been obtained by combining the answers to two or more questions. The questions and the way in which they have been combined are presented here.

1. Religious Identification

This measure uses questions 3-61 on religious affiliation and 3-62 on religious practice. The questions are:

3-61. What is your religion?

- 1- Protestant (of any denomination)
- 2- Catholic (of any rite)
- 3- Jewish
- 4- Ukrainian Orthodox
- 5- Other (Specify which religion)
- 6- No religion
- 9- No answer

3-62. In general, people are not all religiously inclined to the same degree: as for yourself, do you go to church (or to a synagogue) more than once a week, once a week, not every week, rarely or never?

- 1- More than once a week
- 2- Once a week
- 3- Not every week
- 4- Rarely
- 5- Never
- 8- Refuses to answer
- 9- No answer



The combination of the answer categories as used in the tables is as follows:

- a. Protestant and other religious groups practicing frequently (frequently = more than once a week and once a week).
- b. Catholic practicing frequently.
- c. Protestant and other religious groups practicing occasionally, rarely, or not at all (occasionally = not every week).
- d. Catholics practicing occasionally, rarely, or not at all.

2. Economic Deprivation

This measure combines the following questions:

3-29. Would you say that your actual financial situation is better or worse than it was 3 or 4 years ago?

- 1- Better
- 2- About the same
- 3- Worse
- 7- Does not know
- 9- No answer

3-46. In 3 or 4 years, do you think that your income (or your husband's income) will be higher, about the same, or lower than it is now?

- 1- Higher
- 2- About the same
- 3- Lower
- 6- Depends
- 7- Does not know
- 9- No answer

The answer categories were combined in the following way:

a. No Deprivation

<u>Actual situation</u>	-	<u>Future income</u>
Better	-	Higher or about the same
About the same	-	Higher



b. Some Degradation

<u>Actual situation</u>	~	<u>French becomes</u>
Worse	~	Higher
Better	~	Lower
About the same	~	About the same or lower
Worse	~	About the same or lower

If the respondent's main language was French, he was asked about his knowledge of the English language and vice versa. The questions asked are:

1-76. Do you speak French without any difficulty, with some difficulty, with a great deal of difficulty or do you not speak it at all?

- 1- Without any difficulty
- 2- With some difficulty
- 3- With a great deal of difficulty
- 4- Does not speak it at all
- 9- No answer

2-77. Do you speak English without any difficulty, with some difficulty, with a great deal of difficulty or do you not speak it at all?

- 1- Without any difficulty
- 2- With some difficulty
- 3- With a great deal of difficulty
- 4- Does not speak it at all
- 9- No answer

The index is as follows:

Speaks the other language (either French or English depending on one's main language)

- a. Without any difficulty
- b. With some difficulty
- c. With a great deal of difficulty
- d. Not at all.



Questions 3-30 and 3-31 were used for this index.

3-30. Do you think that your actual financial position is higher than, lower than, or about the same as that a person with your education should have?

- 1- Higher
- 2- Lower
- 3- About the same
- 4- Undecided
- 7a Does not know
- 9- No answer

3-31. How often do you think about this difference between your actual financial position and that you feel you should have considering your education: frequently, sometimes or never?

- 1- Frequently
- 2- Sometimes
- 3- Never
- 9- No answer

The index is:

	<u>Concern</u>	-	<u>Frequency</u>
a.	Higher	-	Frequently
b.	Lower	-	Frequently
c.	Higher	-	Sometimes or never
d.	Lower	-	Sometimes or never
e.	All other responses		

5. Ratio of Debt to Assets

Three questions were used for this index:

3-34. Approximately how much money do you have (does your husband have) in savings?

- 1- Less than \$250
- 2- \$250 to \$499
- 3- \$500 to \$999
- 4- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- 5- \$2,000 to \$4,999
- 6- \$5,000 to \$9,999
- 7- \$10,000 or more
- 8- Refuses to answer or does not know
- 9- No answer
- 0- No savings

3-35. Approximately what is the market value of the shares or stocks that you have (that your husband has)?

- 1- Less than \$250
- 2- \$250 to \$499
- 3- \$500 to \$999
- 4- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- 5- \$2,000 to \$4,999
- 6- \$5,000 to \$9,999
- 7- \$10,000 or more
- 8- Refuses to answer or does not know
- 9- No answer
- 0- No stocks

3-43. Approximately what is the total amount of your debts including mortgages (or the total amount of your husband's debts including mortgages)?

- 1- Less than \$250
- 2- \$250 to \$499
- 3- \$500 to \$999
- 4- \$1,000 to \$1,999
- 5- \$2,000 to \$4,999
- 6- \$5,000 to \$9,999
- 7- \$10,000 or more
- 8- Does not know
- 9- Refuses to answer or no answer
- 0- No debts

The amount of debts has been divided by the sum of the savings and stocks. The index is as follows:

- a. Ratio smaller than one
- b. Ratio greater or equal to one
- c. No debts, no assets.



MEMORANDUM

CLASSIFICATION

TO
A

COMMISSIONERS

YOUR FILE No.
Votre dossier

OUR FILE No.
Notre dossier

FROM
De

Michael Oliver

DATE
Dec. 21, 1965

FOLD

SUBJECT
Sujet

The enclosed pages written by Professor Oswald Hall attempt both to summarize some major findings of our survey research and to highlight similarities and differences amongst the studies.

I have trust that they will be of assistance to you in preparing for the discussion of January 13th and 14th.

Happy New Year!

Encl.

Land Esp P. 2, 3

all activities

up

2, 3

5

6

9

11

12

14

21

22

25

32

34

36

39.

SECTION II

(JOHNSON)

(Folk. P. 42)

1.

2

3-7

SEC III

(REGENSTRICFF)

1-4.

(NB. No description of sample?)
i.e. what 4 maps or?

See PB 142

A TENTATIVE REPORT ON SURVEY RESEARCH

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

December 1965.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Introduction

SECTION I

Inter-ethnic Relations in Canada - Groupe de Recherche Sociale

A. Who is concerned about ethnic Relations?

B. In what forms is concern expressed?

I. General types of Antagonisms

II. The Solutions to general Antagonisms

III. The Sense of Political Efficacy

C. Specific Issues of Concern

I. Competition for jobs

II. Relative Influence on Governments

III. Impartiality of Federal Employees

IV. Language Slight

V. The Pattern of Education



D. Appendix I

Canadian Institute of Public Opinion Poll Data

E. Appendix II

Attitudes of Quebec Youth - M. Rioux

SECTION II

The Youth Study - J. Johnstone

SECTION III

The Study of Selected Leaders - P. Regenstreif



A TENTATIVE REPORT ON SURVEY RESEARCH

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Oswald Hall,
December 1965.

During 1965 the Commission undertook three research surveys, designed to probe systematically for information on the breadth and depth of the problems of Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada. These surveys constitute one type of supplement to the materials arising from the public hearings and from the presentation of briefs. Their main distinguishing feature is the fact that they try to cover a representative cross-section of the total Canadian population. By contrast the briefs represent the ideas of people who are willing to give time and effort to discussing problems; and the public hearings represent the people who are highly interested in the problems. It is in terms of general representativeness that the surveys act as a supplement to the other sources of information of the Commission.

The three surveys are:

- (a) a cross-sectional study of Canadian adults carried out by Groupe de Recherche Sociale and entitled "A Study of Inter-ethnic Relations in Canada".
- (b) a cross-sectional study of Canadian young people, by J. Johnstone,
- (c) a sample study of selected leaders in the Canadian population, by P. Regenstreif.

Each of three probes a distinctive facet of the Canadian scene.



In reporting here on these three surveys reference is also made to a study made a year earlier (1964) by Professor Marcel Rioux, which reports on Quebec young people aged 18-21. To add some historical depth to these studies reference is also made to an analysis of the Gallup polls of the period from May 1962 to January 1965; Professor S. Frankel has codified and analyzed these for the Commission.

This report offers some guide lines to a heavy task of reading. The written reports encompass more than one thousand pages, and the appended statistical tables cover equal space. Since the material is already condensed it is not possible to summarize it. Instead an effort is made to group some of the conclusions. The largest survey, that done by the G.R.S., is used as the core of this report, with excursions into the others.

An initial word of caution may be in order. Survey research is only one form of research. It has its own special advantages and limitations. It is relatively quick; it yields a large amount of data; it covers a large population at little cost. On the other hand it doesn't distinguish between the people who are well informed and those who are relatively ignorant; it doesn't distinguish between those who hold opinions solidly and those who can barely make up their minds; it doesn't distinguish between issues that loom darkly on the horizon and those that have been fanned into flames by recent public debate. Moreover, since a survey frequently covers many topics, the survey report tends to resemble a rag-bag of bits and pieces.

Insofar as we are looking at those differences of French Canadians and English Canadians which lead to annoyance and tensions it is useful to ask:

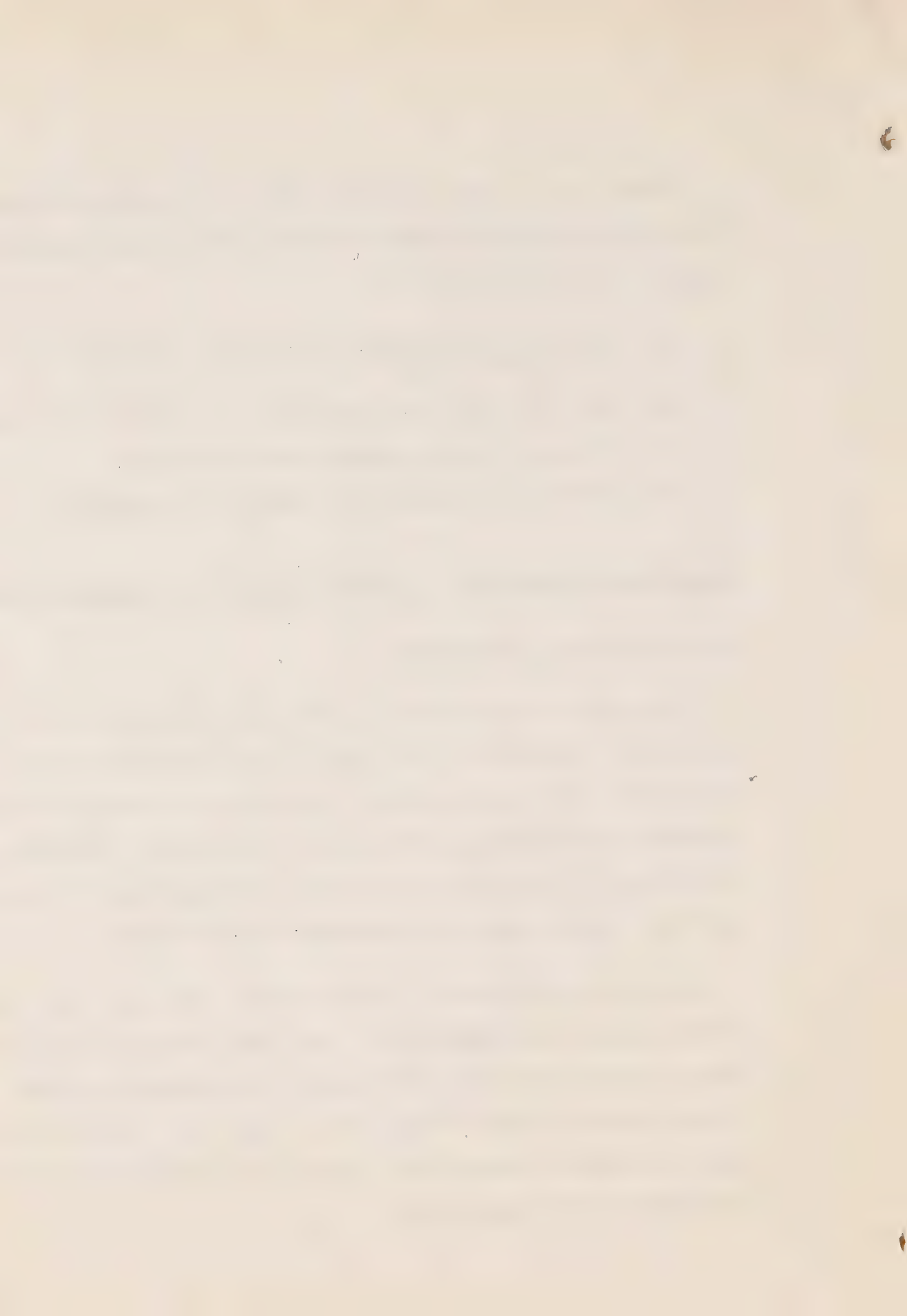
- (a) Where do the two groups appear to be dug in for last ditch fights?
- (b) Where do they seem embarked on collision courses?
- (c) Where are mutual compromises possible?
- (d) Where are asymmetrical compromises possible?

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN CANADA - Groupe de Recherche Sociale

Introduction to the Survey:

This study sampled about 4,000 adult Canadians in May and June 1965. By that time the work of the Commission was well under way. The Interim Report, published in February, had been discussed in the press. The survey followed on the heels, therefore, of the incidents of 1963, the hearings of 1964, the news reports, and the published Interim Report.

The Survey inquired of people whether they had ever heard of the work of the Commission. Over two-thirds had done so; but the Commission's work had failed to register on three out of ten Canadian adults (Table 2.7 - Page 31). (In November 1963 the Gallup poll reported that exactly two-thirds of Canadians had heard of the Commission.)



A preliminary survey question asked Canadians what things worried them. One in five bared a worry-free bosom to the interviewer (Table 2.2 - Page 33). The others worried about lots of different things. Only one in thirty, however, mentioned that he personally worried about "ethnic problems" (Table 2.2 - Page 33). At the personal level the B & B problem is far from widespread.

However, when asked about "the problems that Canada faces" the worries of the respondents appear differently. Approximately 18% of all Canadians rate it first in their concerns (Table 2.1 - Page 21). It thereby stands at the top of the lists of Canadian problems. However, it doesn't concern all Canadians equally, as noted below.

Percentage of respondents who identify ethnic relations as the Canadian problem which worries them most.

* Canadian	21% (approximately)	
English Canadian	19%	"
French Canadian	15%	"
Other Ethnics	14%	"

The degree of worry varies among these groups in an unexpected way.

* Some respondents - about 15% of the total - refused to classify themselves as ethnic. They preferred to be only Canadian. Approximately 5% of these indicated French as their mother tongue.

When asked in further questions to pass judgment on the seriousness of Canada's problems, the emphasis shifts. As compared with other national problems the ethnic problem rates high (Table 2.3 - Page 25). But when asked how it rates in relation to problems of daily living it rates low (Table 2.4 - Page 26). It rates much less seriously than do unemployment, high taxes, and the high cost of living. (For French Canadians the High Cost of Living rates 32% whereas French-English Difficulties rate 8%.)

How serious overall does the problem of ethnic relations loom? To those who believe that Canada faces an acute problem, the data indicate that the vast majority of Canadians are not at all involved. To those who discount the gravity of the problem there is widespread evidence of worry and concern.

A better assessment can be given by breaking the question down and asking:

- A. Who is concerned, and where do they live?
- B. In what distinctive ways has concern been expressed?
- C. About what are they concerned?

A. Who is concerned about ethnic relations?

As indicated above those people who consider themselves solely "Canadian" register the greatest concern about ethnic matters, and both these and English Canadians are more concerned than are French Canadians. But these differences are not the most substantial ones.

The biggest differences lie in the level of education. People who have completed high school are from three to four times as concerned as are those who failed to reach high school (Table 2.8 - Page 33). Similar differences, though smaller, appear along the income curve and the occupational scale. Better salaries and better jobs are associated with more concern.

By region there is also variation (Table 2.8 - Page 34). The Maritimes is a relatively cool area; concern there rates about half the national level. The Quebec region ranks high, but not especially for French Canadians; their concern is rather evenly spread through all regions. And in Quebec the concern is heavily concentrated in the big metropolis.

Furthermore, concern is to a lesser degree a matter of age. The people under thirty years of age are more concerned than those over fifty. And finally it is a matter of contact between peoples. Those who live in relative isolation from other ethnic groups show much less concern than those thrown in contact with other ethnic groups.

The concerned ones, in brief, are the younger people, the better educated, those in higher occupations, those earning more money, those suffering little deprivation, and those tending to live in metropolitan areas. (To keep these things in perspective it should be noted that these differences are still modest. The most highly educated rank concern with ethnic

problems about twice as high as the average - (34% compared to 18%); the least educated about half as high (8% compared with 18%).

Having indicated that concern over ethnic relations varies from area to area and group to group it is useful to know how large these various groupings are. Are the concerned groups large groups of people, or small groups? In the total sample the French Canadians and English Canadians are represented precisely in terms of their numbers in the total population (Page 2). But there the similarities end.

There are minor differences in age. The French-Canadian respondents are about a couple of years younger than their English counterparts. Among the French-Canadian respondents there are more men than women, 46% as compared with 40% of English-Canadian respondents. For the English-Canadian group there are more older women among the respondents (Table 11.2 - Page 257).

The sharpest differences in the sample show up in terms of the level of schooling (Table 11.6 - Page 261). For French Canadians and English Canadians the distribution is as follows:

<u>Years of Schooling*</u>	<u>French Canadians</u>	<u>English Canadians</u>
0 - 7	40%	12%
8 - 12	49%	68%
13 +	11%	20%

* It should be noted that this table represents only the educational level of the 4,000 people sampled. For all of Canada the educational levels are probably lower than these figures indicated.

The proportions of those in the sample who have attended university are, approximately, five percent for French Canadians and eleven percent for English Canadians. (The respondents who call themselves "Canadian" stand highest - 14%.)

Similar differences appear in the occupations of French Canadians and English Canadians. There are proportionately more English Canadians in professional and managerial posts; French Canadians are proportionately concentrated in blue collar jobs (54% as compared with 42% for English Canadians).

In terms of incomes, again there are differences. These show up particularly at the higher income levels. Of all French-Canadian respondents, about 15% report incomes over \$6,500 per year. Of English Canadians, the proportion is 27%. The "Canadians" stand highest; one in three stands in this upper income category.

In brief, the French-Canadian group is clearly unlike the English-Canadian group in several salient respects. The most obvious difference lies in the levels of education of the two groups.

The survey data permit us to say something about how Canadians feel about their incomes, their educations, their occupational achievements, and their prospects for the future. Along these lines some fascinating differences appear as between English Canadians and French Canadians.

To begin with French Canadians appear to be well rewarded in the work world. Both their incomes and their occupations rank higher, for a given level of education, than is true for other groups in Canada. In this sense they are over-rewarded in comparison with other groups. However, when questioned on this point they do not think so; they see themselves as being only as well rewarded as are the rest of Canadians (Page 295 - Par. 3).

Canadians in general feel uncertain about their economic futures (Page 295 - Par. 3 and 4). But French Canadians feel even less certain than do their fellow-Canadians. This is true whether French Canadians live among English Canadians, or in relative isolation amongst members of their own groups. Unfortunately, it is not possible, given the survey data, to try to explain these anomalies in the ways in which French Canadians see their current economic status or their futures.

It is very clear, however, that French Canadians place a low evaluation on their own educational institutions (Table 6.3 - Page 145). English Canadians view their own educational institutions as being much superior to those of French Canadians. Such an evaluation is to be expected, regardless of the objective facts of the case. But French Canadians also put a low value on their own educational institutions and at the same time a high value on the educational institutions of English Canadians. Throughout the study there are extremely

few places where French Canadians introduce statements of inferiority; on this one point their assessments are clear and vigorous.

B. In what forms is concern expressed?

In a later section the survey data are explored to sort out the main types of issues and annoyances which enter into French-English relations. Before looking at these specific items, it is useful to take a look at

- I. the more general kinds of antagonisms,
 - II. the solutions which people feel are available, and
 - III. their sense of being able to implement solutions.
- Each of these three will be considered in turn.

I. Both English Canadians and French Canadians are concerned about the amount of political influence wielded by each of the major groupings. French Canadians feel that English Canadians are trying to gain too much influence. This statement is made by approximately half of the French Canadians interviewed (Table 7.1 - Page 155). On their part, English Canadians deny this almost unanimously.

By the same token, English Canadians view French Canadians as trying to gain too much political influence; but they too are divided. A few more than half of English Canadians see the French Canadians in this light (Table 7.2 - Page 156). On their

part the French Canadians reject this notion as unanimously as the English Canadians reject the parallel charge.

All Canadians were asked the question as to whether French Canadians should be treated as any other minority group. This question elicited intriguing replies. Sixty-six percent of English Canadians answered "yes"; of the French Canadians, 56% similarly answered "yes" (Table 7.4 - Page 158). On this question there is no unanimity; both English-speaking and French-speaking groups are divided in their opinions.

When asked about their future expectations in ethnic matters, (Table 7.6 - Page 160) both English Canadians and French Canadians are relatively optimistic. Fifty percent of English Canadians expect to see relations get better, as do 60% of French Canadians. For the English Canadians, it is clear (Table 7.11 - Page 170) that it is the younger ones who are most optimistic. English-speaking people under thirty are much more optimistic than are those over fifty. However, of both groups, the optimism is more pronounced among those who know the two languages, and amongst those who have contacts with members of the other group (Table 7.14 - Page 173 and Table 7.16 - Page 174). In general it can be said that of both the French speaking and English speaking, the more educated they are, the more money they have, and the younger they are, the less they suspect the other group of trying to gain too much political influence, and the more optimistic they are about the future of English-French relations.

II. The people interviewed were offered four solutions to the problem of French-English relations - separatism, the status quo, more federal control over the province of Quebec, and less federal control of the province of Quebec (Table 8.3 - Page 195). The separatist solution is the least popular. Approximately one person in thirty chose this option. The most popular is that of the status quo. Forty percent of the population chose this. There is very little difference between the responses of English Canadians and French Canadians regarding these two options. There is much less agreement however on the alternative options regarding the amount of federal control considered appropriate to the province of Quebec (Table 8.7 - Page 195).

Another set of questions raised the problem of the relationships of Canada to the outside world. On the ancient question of annexation to the United States (Table 8.1 - Page 189) over 20% of Canadians responded favourably. There are differences, however, between French Canadians and English Canadians. The French-Canadian figure is 25%, and the English-Canadian approximately 19%.

On the question of an economic union with the United States, as contrasted with a political union, the figures go higher. Sixty percent of French Canadians would favour this arrangement, as compared with 47% of English Canadians. Centripetal continentalism rates higher than the centrifugal Laurentianism.

III. A set of questions attempted to get some measure of the sense of political effectiveness of Canadians. One question was directed to voting behaviour and another to the interest of people in politics in general. In terms of this measure (Table 11.14 - Page 277) Canadians are not generally concerned about politics. However, French Canadians are the least interested of any group; 59% indicated that they talk about politics rarely or never, as compared to 47% for English Canadians. Something of the same differences appears when questions are raised about the sense of political efficacy (Table 11.15 - Page 278). By a substantial margin, French Canadians say that they do not believe that governments are interested in what people think; and about twice as many French Canadians as English Canadians feel that neither the provincial nor the federal governments takes care of the people's interests.

On the other hand, both English Canadians and French Canadians indicated that they believed that the provincial governments do a better job of looking after the people's interests than does the federal government (Table 11.16 - Page 279). Moreover, this idea is held very heavily by the younger people, of whom over 40% feel that the provincial governments take best care of the people's interests.

C. We now turn to consider the objectives on which ethnic concern is focussed, on the issues around which annoyances and complaints seem to arise.

In the preceding section attention was directed to the general struggle for power, and the ways each group viewed itself and the others. This section deals with more specific matters:

- I. competition for jobs,
- II. influence in government,
- III. treatment by Federal employees,
- IV. language slights, particularly in stores and restaurants,
- V. how schools should be organized.

I. Who gets the best jobs? The survey cannot provided a direct answer. Instead it can indicate what the various ethnic groups believe about who gets the best jobs.

All groups agree that the English Canadians have the most chances for the best jobs. But French Canadians agree in larger numbers - 60% of them are of this opinion (Table 3.1 - Page 53). Of English Canadians and Other Ethnics about half as many believe this to be true. English Canadians and Other Ethnics on the other hand are more convinced that all Canadians have equal chances at jobs (35% and 44% respectively). By contrast only 12.5% of French Canadians believe that equal chances exist.

By and large all Canadians believe in ethnic preference for themselves. Two-thirds of those interviewed thought it "natural for an employer to give preference to people of his own group" (Table 3.3 - Page 56). On a comparison question 20% agreed that each group "should try to get as many of the best jobs as possible, and let other groups take care of themselves"; only 63% rejected that idea flatly.

How far do ethnic groups approve of whatever advantages they have in holding the best jobs? Both English Canadians and French Canadians disapprove heartily of the advantages held by the other (Table 3.4 - Page 59). In each case 87% of them feel the other group should not have the advantages it possesses. But how do they feel about their own advantages? Here there is an anomaly. Where French Canadians are seen as holding the best jobs, they approve; 75% of those responding to that sort of situation agree that such advantages are desirable. On the other hand where the English Canadians hold the best jobs they are not prepared to justify the advantage. Only 20% consider it right that they should have more chances for the good jobs.

The data seem to indicate that although English Canadians are believed to have a preponderant access to the best jobs, they generally disapprove of this state of affairs. The French Canadians see themselves with preferred access to relatively few jobs, but approve highly of this where it does occur.

Other questions concerned promotions; they probed the relation between ignorance of the English language and chances of promotion. Should lack of English lessen chances of promotion? Of English Canadians, 40% say this should not reduce the chances for promotion for a French Canadian (Table 3.7 - Page 66). French Canadians are more emphatic; 70% state that lack of English should not lessen their promotion chances.

If the question focuses on Immigrants who lack English rather than French Canadians, the results are changed. The English-speaking group is slightly less favourably disposed; only 33% feel that the language lack should not be a hindrance. French Canadians are more favorably inclined - exactly 50% feel the language lack should not be a factor. However, this 50% is considerably lower than the figure applied to their own case, in which 70% thought that the language lack should be disregarded.

At the level of Federal employment these matters appear somewhat different (Table 4.6 - Page 77). French Canadians see their chances there as somewhat worse than in the work world at large. The Other Ethnics tend to see the Federal service as similar to the rest of the work world. English Canadians tend to see the Federal service as considerably less discriminatory than is the larger work world. In other words they see themselves with fewer chances for the best jobs, and see French Canadians as being better off than in the work world at large.

II. How does the matter of decision making by the Federal Government appear in the eyes of our groupings? Which group counts for most? To put the matter in perspective the most commonly held belief is that no group counts for more than do the others (Table 4.11 - Page 71). About half of all people sampled were of this mind. But what of the others?

About one-third of the total believed the English Canadians count for more; a quarter as many, 8% feel that French Canadians count for more. But within groups there are substantial differences. Half of all the French Canadians see English Canadians as the influential ones. The English Canadians discount this; only a quarter of them recognize their own excessive influence. French Canadians see themselves as influential only to a very modest degree, 3.4%. But other Canadians see French Canadians as wielding more influence; 11% of English Canadians think the influence of French Canadians is predominant.

At the level of Federal government there is, therefore, substantial belief in an unequal share of political influence of the two major groups. There is evidence, too, that they see the identical situation in different ways.

At the provincial level (Table 4.3 - Page 73) the sense of differences is less profound. There is more general agreement that no group has excessive influence; and there is less difference seen in the relative influence of French Canadians and English Canadians.

How do French Canadians and English Canadians feel about the distribution of relative power? In general they are unanimous. Of all those French Canadians who believe that the English Canadians have more influence at the Federal level, almost 90% object strongly (Table 4.8 - Page 80). Similarly, those English Canadians who believe French Canadians have more influence object strongly in the same degree (Table 4.9 - Page 81).

However, if asked a supplementary question as to whether English and French Canadians taken together should have more influence than other Canadians, some differences appear. Of English Canadians approximately 50% agree, whereas 64% of French Canadians agree (Table 4.10 - Page 82). There is a difference, however, between those with more than thirteen years schooling and those with less. The better educated English Canadians tend more to reject the idea (43% agree) while the better educated French Canadians tend more to accept the idea (70% agree). Better educated English Canadians profess less discrimination; better educated French Canadians express a different sentiment.

III. How equal is the treatment that Canadians receive at the hands of Employees of the Federal Government? No one knows. Ethnic groups perceive differences in their treatment, but the differences are not as wide as those registered in I and II above. (Table 4.4 - Page 75). Almost half (48%) of all Canadians perceive a pattern of equal treatment for all. French Canadians report this in only 27% of their responses, while in

45% they see the English Canadians as being treated better. Only in 4% of all cases are French Canadians seen as receiving favoured treatment. The Other Ethnics, like the English Canadians, see little variation from an equalitarian pattern in the treatment meted out by Federal public servants.

How do those who perceive the favoured treatment respond to it? Those who see the English as favoured react with disapproval: French Canadians, 93%; English Canadians, 85%; Other Ethnics, 75% (Table 4.21 - Page 93). Where French Canadians are seen as favoured the English Canadians disapprove heavily, 94%. On the other hand in cases where French Canadians see themselves as favoured they express disapproval about half as much, 45% (Table 4.22 - Page 94).

IV. How do Canadians respond to the need to speak a second language? How often does this happen to them, and what are their responses? Some data were gathered on these points relating both to general work situations, and to restaurants and stores to which people go for services.

Respondents were asked whether a language minority working in a business concern should learn the language of the majority (Table 3.8 - Page 66). In the cases where the majority spoke English there was general agreement that the minority should conform. The percentages agreeing are high: English Canadians, 82%; French Canadians, 84%; Other Ethnics, 89%. In those cases where the majority spoke French the agreement was much less:

English Canadians, 62%; French Canadians, 88%; Other Ethnics, 53%. But in all cases a majority is in favour of a working principle. At the level of the work force it seems possible to reach consensus on language use.

When it comes to dealing with clerks and waiters the matter is more complicated. Here the respondents are dealing, not with a hypothetical business firm, but, with actual language encounters. How often do such language encounters occur? In all, 24% of French Canadians and English Canadians claim no contacts of any sort one with the other. One English Canadian in three has met a French Canadian in a store or restaurant; this experience has happened to approximately 45% of French Canadians (Table 5.1 - Page 103). Of all English Canadians only 6% have been spoken to in the store or restaurant in the French language with any frequency (Table 5.2 - Page 104). French Canadians meet this situation much more frequently; approximately 30% of all respondents have been spoken to in English by waiters and clerks with some frequency.

How do they feel about their language encounters? English Canadians feel bothered by this in 18% of cases (Table 5.3 - Page 106). French Canadians are bothered more, in 36% of cases. Other Ethnics report annoyance in only 9% of their contacts. French Canadians and Other Ethnics report poorer quality service in about the same degree as they are bothered by the other language. English Canadians seem more bothered about the service - they report it poorer in 28% of cases.

When asked about the right to be served in one's own language the figures jump substantially (Table 5.5 - Page 108). Two-thirds of English Canadians propound this as a right. Among French Canadians the claim runs higher - 77% believe the customer should be served in his own language. This appears to be a popular claim, for 38% of Other Ethnics feel it applies to them too.

But when asked to honour the claim the picture changes. Among French Canadians, 80% feel it is right that they should have this prerogative. English Canadians would grant it to them only to the extent of 10%, whereas Other Ethnics are only slightly more favourable; 13% would grant this prerogative to French Canadians. Even if the right is restricted to the Province of Quebec, fewer than a third of English Canadians or Other Ethnics are prepared to grant this right to French Canadians.

From the above it appears that people like to be served in their own language. But Canadians in general are unready to contemplate re-organizing things to honour such preferences. Moreover, the readiness to adopt such arrangements varies substantially by provinces.

When the responses to language problems in the job world are compared with those arising specifically where people seek services in restaurants and stores we seem to detect some anomalies. In the job world people seem ready to handle language problems without great disturbance. It is when they ask for service that the distress seems to arise.

On the surface the job world is largely an inescapable world. One is literally forced into it, and in most cases is not free to choose his employer, nor the language of employment. By contrast one can shop where he wishes for goods and services. Wherever ethnic groups want to be served in their own language, some enterprising entrepreneur usually sets up shop to capture such a clientele. Language slights in the service field are usually much easier to avoid than those in one's daily job. Yet the service world appears from this survey to represent serious tensions. But perhaps it is easier to insulate these in the world of daily jobs.

V. The School Question

The Survey asked questions regarding support for French-language schools outside of Quebec.

One question measured the response of Canadians to provincial support for French-language schools under Catholic auspices (Table 8.4 - Page 199). The French Canadians supported the idea; 74% were in favour. The English Canadians rejected the idea; only 21% expressed a favourable response. Other Ethnics were slightly more favourable, 28%.

When the question is re-worded to consider provincial support for non-confessional French-language schools the pattern changes slightly. English Canadians are somewhat more favourable; 27% indicate their approval. French-Canadian approval diminishes to 69%. Other Ethnics, like English Canadians, are a little more in favour; 32% register approval.

Clearly the two groups do not see eye to eye on this; yet neither are they solidly at odds over the question.

A further question asked the respondents to choose between a system of language schools for Canada and a system of confessional schools. Among English Canadians only 30% rejected outright the idea of being ready to accept one of the alternatives; 6% of French Canadians reject the principle of such a division (Table 8.5 - Page 200).

Of those prepared to accept such a division, both French Canadians and English Canadians are in strong agreement. About a third of each favours the language schools, a third favours confessional schools, and the other third thinks both divisions are equally important. There is basic agreement among all - that they are confused on any such policy.

However if asked to evaluate present systems of education the patterns are more clear cut. As far as the schools preparing one for the job world is concerned there is a strong tendency for both French Canadians and English Canadians to evaluate the

schools of the former lower than those of the latter. These evaluations hold for all income levels, all education levels, and for all occupational levels but one (Table 6.3 - Page 145). English Canadians put a very low evaluation on French-Canadian schools. Less than 3% of English Canadians see French-Canadian schools as superior to their own; over 30% see the English-Canadian schools as superior. For those who are better paid, and those with higher education, 43% view their own schools as superior, as compared to less than 2% who see the French-Canadian schools as superior.

French Canadians assess schools in the same direction, though their judgments on their own schools are less harsh. The French Canadians who have thirteen or more years of schooling evaluate schools thus; 13% consider their own schools superior while 21% see English-Canadian schools as superior. For French Canadians earning over \$6,500 a year the division is somewhat sharper; 11% versus 27%. Only the French-Canadian farmer sees his schools as superior. In his case 13% assess French-Canadian schools higher while 11% assess English-Canadian schools higher.

Other Ethnics tend to rate French-Canadian schools slightly higher than do English Canadians. Respondents who identify themselves solely as Canadian rate them even lower than do English Canadians. But they are also inclined to rate English-Canadian schools lower than do the English Canadians themselves.

The tendency for French Canadians to devalue their own schools is widespread geographically. Both in areas where French Canadians are in a majority and in a minority the responses are similar.

Some concluding remarks may be in order regarding this report on the G.R.S. survey. The observations made so far have by no means exhausted the promising leads. Other lines remain to be explored. The ones chosen reflect in part the divisions of our research - education, linguistics, constitutional rights, the public service, competition for a livelihood.

One obvious shortcoming of the present assessment is the fact that it views the phenomena through a Canada-wide lens. Some readers would prefer narrower lenses - a sharper view of the Maritimes, better close-ups of the Prairies, greater detail in the Quebec region, still-life enlargements of the English Canadians in Quebec, and so on. In the present document these refinements of vision have been sacrificed..

Another shortcoming is the uniform shading given to the problems selected. Some readers may prefer that one specific problem area be present in bolder relief. It may be that the apparatus of the Federal Government should be drawn into the foreground of the presentation, that each of its facets be highlighted. Or alternatively that each dimension of education should be spotlighted wherever it appears. A subsequent assessment of the materials of the survey might profitably try such an approach in depth.

Regarding the observations submitted here, some general comments may be offered. In some of the areas surveyed there seem to be promising avenues for modifying the situations in which Canadians now find themselves. In other areas a good deal of confusion reigns. In still others minor inconveniences seem to have been elevated to the rank of major issues. In many areas the problems unearthed are tough ones, as for example the tangled web of troubles related to low educational levels. The solution for such problems will involved a lot of hard work and a lot of inspired planning as well as a fund of good will.

D. Appendix I

Canadian Institute of Public Opinion Poll Data

(May 1962 to January 1965)*

The data of the G.R.S. Survey can be usefully compared with other surveys. Between May 1962 and January 1965 the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion undertook sixteen national polls which bear in part on the concerns of the G.R.S. Survey. Professor Frankel has analyzed these, not by presenting them chronologically, but, by organizing them under a system of headings. Only a fraction of his analysis is reflected here, that which dovetails with the G.R.S. Survey.

Several of the above Canadian Institute of Public Opinion polls gathered data which deal with the major concerns of Canadians. It is possible therefore to compare some of these soundings over time.

One recurrent theme is concern over unemployment. In five polls taken between 1962 and 1964 respondents were asked what was Canada's greatest problem (Table 12.1 - page 23).

* S.J. Frankel - A Study of source documents dealing with differences in political attitudes between French and English Canadians.

In May 1962 over 48% placed unemployment as the greatest problem. By August 1964 this figure had dwindled only to 32%. The differences between French-Canadian responses and those of English Canadians were small.

Taxes constitute another perennial among the concerns. In 1962 45% of Canadians thought Federal income tax too high. French Canadians accentuated this response; 59% considered the taxes too high, as compared to 39% for English Canadians. When the question was repeated in January 1965 approximately the same results were obtained (Table 17.1 - page 60). Hardly anybody thought taxes were too low.

By contrast, "Separatism, Relation with Quebec" has had low salience. In August 1963 it was selected as the greatest problem in Canada by 7% of French-Canadian respondents and 3% of English Canadians (Page 24). In August 1964 it was rated first by about 12% of both French Canadians and English Canadians (page 24). (By comparison the figure for unemployment was 38%).

A supplementary question asked in June 1963 sheds some light on the degree of concern over bilingualism per se. Only 6% of French Canadians rated it important as compared to 18% who referred to unequal opportunities in employment (Table 2.6 - page 104). English Canadians rated it higher; 14% considered it important.

It might be noted that throughout this period, French Canadians register considerably more pessimism than do Canadians in general about their economic futures (Tables 1.1 - Page 9, 4.1 - Page 14, 5.1 - Page 15). The bleak estimate is conspicuous among the farmers (Table 24.1 - Page 67).

Some of the surveys deal with Canadian-American relations; the data fall in the general area of G.R.S. - B-II above.

In April 1963 respondents were asked whether or not dependence on the United States was increasing. French Canadians agreed in 46% of cases; English Canadians in 51% of cases (Table 13.1 - Page 24). When asked to pass judgment on the increased dependence, English Canadians approved by 41%; French Canadians approved by 66% (Table 13.2 - Page 25).

In August 1964 respondents were asked their opinions on annexation to the United States. English Canadians registered 11% favourable responses; French Canadians, 18% (Table 16.1 - Page 29). On the matter of a customs union with the United States the totals are much higher. Of English Canadians 47% say that Canada would be better off with such an arrangement; French Canadians rate the idea higher, 51% (Table 22.1 - Page 65).

On the above matters the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion data correspond in general with the G.R.S. findings; there seems to be more sentiment for association with the United States than for dissociation within Canada.

Other of the survey data bear on the matter of political efficacy - to what degree do Canadians feel that they can control their political destinies? These data relate to G.R.S. - B-III.

In May 1962 respondents were asked whether it makes a great deal of difference which political party runs this country. Fifty percent of English Canadians answered yes; 40% of French Canadians did likewise (Table 6.1 - Page 16). Of English Canadians 11% had no opinion; of French Canadians 17.5%. University educated English Canadians were more emphatic; 63% answered yes. For French Canadians the difference was slighter; the university trained answered yes in 43.5% of cases (Table 6.2 - Page 16).

In February 1964 a related question was asked regarding the degree of influence on the government of three kinds of organizations - Large Unions, Large Companies, and Farm Organizations (Table 18.1 - Page 33). The results are in part as follows:

	<u>English Canadian</u>	<u>French Canadian</u>
Labour Union	29%	13.5%
Big Company	43%	77%
Farm Organization	11%	4.5%

The English-Canadian assessment is roughly one of countervailing powers. The French-Canadian assessment is one of corporate domination; the power of his union or farm organization is seen as weak.

From other polls it would appear that political power for French Canadians is viewed as resting in the provincial sphere. On the question as to who should administer pension plans English Canadians align themselves 63% for the Federal Government and 22% for the Province; French Canadians stand 24% for the Federal Government and 58% for the Province (Table 25.1 - Page 69).

However it is not appropriate to view the above results as an unambiguous indicator of centralization vs provincial rights. On a question as to whether Canadians would be better off if provincial governments were abolished the following results appear (Table 9.1 - Page 115).

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
Better off	16.5	17.5	29.0
Worse off	72.5	58.5	59.5
Can't say	10.5	23.0	11.5
No difference	0.5	1.0	0

French Canadians rank lowest in estimating that Canada would be worse off with no provincial governments. Although English Canadians are often seen as "centralizers" the above table indicates that there is a strong appreciation of provincial power among them.

The table calls attention moreover to the high proportion of "can't say" responses among French Canadians, 23%. This phenomenon can be noted in almost every question that bears on political efficacy. It corresponds to a common thread running through the G.R.S. Survey.

Although the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion surveys have indicated that economic problems have very high salience for French Canadians, very few questions are directed specifically at the world of work. One such question (August 1964) asks where the blame lies if a person is poor - lack of effort on his part or circumstances beyond his control: English Canadians place lack of effort first; 35% designate lack of effort and 30.5% select circumstances (Table 7.1 - Page 17). For French Canadians the emphasis is reversed.

Only 16.5% select lack of effort whereas 48.5% place the blame on circumstances.

The emphasis in the responses varies in terms of the amount of education of the respondents; but at all educational levels French Canadians see circumstances as more responsible for poverty.

A second question in the August 1964 poll offered the statement "what counts is not what you can do, or how hard working you are, but whom you know and how much influence you have". In their responses English Canadians and French Canadians are in substantial agreement; about 60% are in accord with the statement (Table 8.1 - Page 19). A look at the various educational levels raises an anomaly. French Canadians at the lowest and highest levels all agree equally with the statement. For English Canadians almost 70% of the poorly educated agree - more so than do French Canadians. But at the university level the pattern is the obverse; 41% of these people agree with the statement as compared with 64.5% of French Canadians.

In the statements relating to these two questions Professor Frankel appears to see a difference in "economic efficacy" as between French Canadians and English Canadians. Parallel observations were noted in the discussion of the G.R.S. Survey, particularly in C-I.

E. Appendix II

Attitudes of Quebec Youth, 1964 - M. Rioux

The study of Quebec Youth focuses solely on French Canadians; there are no data on English Canadians.

The report on this survey is one aspect of a larger study done for the C.B.C. and published in part under the title "Les Nouveaux Citoyens" par Marcel Rioux et Robert Savigny - Radio Canada, Montreal. The larger study was largely concerned with measuring the gap between the generations in Quebec. In a sense it is a commentary on social change in La Belle Province. Our interest was restricted to an analysis of the materials relevant to French-English relations and to Separatism.

Rioux's sample, to which a questionnaire was administered, comprises 804 young people, aged 18-21. Half of it reflects metropolitan youth, and approximately a quarter rural youth; the remainder reflects other areas of the province. The sample leans toward the young side; about 60% are under the twenty year line.

His sample therefore is notably younger than the "young" part of the G.R.S. survey. (There the authors have selected those under 29 years as their "young" group). Some other differences also catch the eye. There are more boys than girls in the Rioux survey; 55% as compared with 46% for G.R.S.

The young people come from a wealthier segment of the society; 16% of their families earn over \$8,000 per year. The young people view themselves as middle-class, 93%. Only 3.5% consider themselves lower-class; almost none of the girls viewed herself as anything but middle class. Finally the sample is heavily weighted with the better educated (80% have gone beyond Grade X); over half of them are currently in secondary or technical school and another part had graduated into white collar work. Less than a quarter is found in the blue collar fields (pp 18-20).

Since this sample is not identical with any segment of the G.R.S. survey it cannot be expected to duplicate the findings of the latter. Rather it is useful as a measure of how far these young people differ from the rest of the population, and how they differ one from another.

Since Professor Rioux himself interviewed a substantial proportion of the sample (approximately 20%) in the wake of the questionnaire survey his conclusions are based on more than sheer statistical findings. Chapter III of his text, pp 42-56, gives the reader something of the authentic flavour of his personal interviews with his subjects.

Understanding these data about young people is a bit like understanding young people themselves; it is difficult. M. Rioux encapsulates his impressions in a single paragraph. (p. 58)

"On pourrait, en partant de certains pourcentages que nos tableaux présentent, tirer des interprétations contradictoires au sujet de la couche de population que nous avons étudiée..

1ère interprétation: les nouveaux citoyens sont nationalistes (plus de 75% se définissent d'abord et exclusivement comme canadiens-français), ils sont indépendantistes (plus de 60% croient que le Québec sera indépendant un jour); ils sont socialistes (près de 90% accordent au gouvernement une place prépondérante dans l'industrie); ils sont de moins en moins religieux (dans l'évaluation indirecte des secteurs d'importance, moins de 25% placent la religion dans les trois premiers secteurs).

2ième interprétation: les jeunes citoyens sont traditionnalistes et voteraient comme leurs parents (plus de 60% voteraient pour le parti libéral); les indépendantistes sont très minoritaires (seulement 19% de ceux qui ont exprimé une opinion voteraient pour le R.I.N.): ils sont optimistes quant à l'avenir des relations des Canadiens français avec les Anglo canadiens (plus de 60% croient que les relations entre les deux groupes vont s'améliorer); les nouveaux citoyens sont aussi religieux que leurs parents (93.8% se déclarent membres de l'Eglise catholique)."

One general impression arises from the survey data. Quebec youth are not greatly concerned about matters political. On a scale of interests, politics lies in the lowest third of the measure. Over 75% of his subjects place provincial politics this low; over 90% place federal politics at the low end of the scale (Table 1 - Page 22). In general the girls are more conservative politically than are the boys, although a larger percentage of girls would vote for the PSQ (2.7% vs 1.6%) - (Table 2 - Page 22).

Government Intervention in Medical Care

If medical care represents one of the most traditionally individualistic aspects of French-Canadian society (one of the three great historic professions) a measure of government intervention indicates a break with the past. Approximately one half of the sample favours government intervention, but there are observable variations in the pattern. The rural group approves more (60%) (Table 12 - Page 66); the boys approve more (54%) (Table 12 - Page 67); the married (there are few) approve much more (81%) (Table 14 - Page 68); those at

work approve more than do students (60% vs 40%) (Table 15 - Page 69); the more well-to-do approve less (40%) (Table 16 - Page 70); of those with more than ten years of schooling 45% approve, of those with less education 73% approve (Table 17 - Page 74). Of those approving most one might say that they are rural, currently employed, married, with little schooling, with small incomes.

Self-Identification with French Canadianism

The survey asked the subjects to indicate how closely they identified with Canadianism or French Canadianism. Eleven percent described themselves as sheerly Canadian; 20% viewed themselves as purely French-Canadian (Table 28 - Page 93). Another 56% identified themselves as French Canadians first, and 13% as Canadians first. On balance the tendency to think of oneself as wholly or mainly French Canadian is strong. The sense of being Canadian is strongest outside of Montreal. In Montreal the wholly Canadian group is less than 7%.

There are variations nonetheless by area and schooling. The rural youth with little education are most "nationalistic" - 36%. By contrast those with ten or more years of schooling in the rest of the province (outside Montreal) only register 12% as solely French Canadian (Table 34 - Page 101). The appeal

of nationalism is correlated with the appeal of various political parties. The Social Credit supporters are the least "nationalistic" and the RIN the most heavily so. Since these are small fractions of the total little significance can be attached to such a finding.

Nationalism - what does it mean

The subjects were asked to indicate what nationalism meant to them. By forcing them to choose between five connotations

26% → { Separatism,
Associate State,
Increased Autonomy within Confederation,
More respect for French Canadians with an unchanged Constitution,
Economic Autonomy

they sorted themselves into groups. They distributed themselves in an almost random fashion (Table 40 - Page 114). The separatist solution appealed to 17% of the group; * "more respect with an unchanged constitution" had the highest appeal, 26%. On balance there is little of consensus apparent.

There are few variations among the groups. The boys are a bit more concerned about economic autonomy - the girls about respect for French Canadians (Table 41 - Page 116). The larger differences show up with education. Those with less

* When asked specifically in a later question if Quebec would some day be an independent state, those answering yes comprised 55% of the total.

than ten years of schooling are the most separatist, and also the most desirous of economic autonomy (Table 44 - Page 121).

Terrorism

How do young people in Quebec respond to terrorism?

There is some ignorance about it, and some indifference. As to the definite responses they are readily summarized. About 60% stand against it, and 15% for it (Table 61 - Page 151).

How are the favourable ones distributed?

The sentiment in favour is strongly Montreal based. There the favourable ratio stands at 20%, as compared with 10% for the rural areas and the rest of the province.

Moreover, this is largely a masculine phenomenon. Of the boys over 18% favour terrorism; of the girls less than 10% (Table 62 - Page 154). But the Montreal girls are much more favourably disposed than their sisters elsewhere.

The relation with education is positive. Of those with less than ten years' education 9% are in favour, of those with more education, 16% (Table 64 - Page 159).

The correlation with income is of a different order. Those with low family incomes (\$4,000 or less) rate low, 11%; those with low-medium incomes (\$4,000-\$6,000) rate higher, 16%;

those with medium-high incomes (\$6,000-\$8,000) rate highest, 22%. However, those with the highest incomes (over \$8,000) rate almost as low as any, 11.6%.

Students rate higher than young people with jobs, though the differences are not great.

The only discernible group which is spectacularly different is the group aligned with the R.I.N.; for them the proportion in favour of terrorism stands at 42%.

Family Life

One measure of adherence to traditional models of thought in Quebec is a favourable attitude toward large families. Rioux has used a very simple dichotomy; he asks the subjects to choose between three children or less as against four or more as the desired family size.

On this measure the influence of urbanization is obvious. Over 75% of the rural group indicate the larger family; for the metropolis the percentage is 53%. The rest of the province stands about midway (Table 75 - Page 179).

The two sexes view these matters differently; the girls respond in more traditional fashion. Rural girls select the larger family in 79% of cases; Montreal boys only to the extent of 45%.

On this measure level of education seems to exert almost no effect. Those with ten years and more of education respond just as do those with nine or fewer years in school.

To Move or to Stay

An index of readiness to accept social change is the willingness to migrate. However this is an awkward thing to measure. Rural people who hope to move to a big city would appear to be more "modern" than those who had arrived in the big city and who found it to their liking. Moreover for many it may seem less a choice than an inescapable fate.

By this measure, nonetheless, Quebec youth are genuinely mobile. Over 75% of the rural youth expect to move, and over 70% of those in other sections of the province likewise. Indeed of those in Montreal almost one in three expects to migrate, though the destination in their cases is unclear (Table 84 - Page 189).

In this case the girls are the less tradition bound, especially those in rural areas. There only 16% prefer to remain where they are; by contrast 33% of rural boys expect to stay where they are (Table 85 - Page 190). The married of both sexes also appear to be more foot loose than the unmarried. In all cases it is those with more education who are ready to migrate (Table 86 - Page 192).

SECTION II

The Youth Study - John Johnstone

This study was carried out in collaboration with the Groupe de Recherche Sociale. Special questionnaires for the young people were distributed in the very same households. The results, it was hoped, would reveal the spectrum of attitudes amongst young Canadians and indicate how they vary from those of the corresponding adults.

At the moment the tabulations are not available. Some of the tentative initial conclusions, however, can be summarized as follows:

1. There are quite important differences in the way English- and French-speaking young people view their country. English youth see Canada as basically an open-class society where it is possible to climb the social ladder through one's own efforts - principally by getting a good education and working hard. These attributes are universally regarded by English youth as the main channels to success. English youth think of Canada largely in terms of its potential for development, its natural resources and its future.

2. French youth on the other hand regard Canada much more as a stratified society, where who you are and who you know are felt to be of considerable importance. For French young people being bilingual is seen as the most important single

factor guaranteeing success in Canadian life; this is more important even than schooling or hard work. Moreover, for French youth the social and political subdivisions of the country enter prominently into their notions of Canada.

3. Members of non-French-speaking minorities in the main share the same perspectives as English youth on these issues. This was found to be true not only on the question of general views of Canadian society but on practically all other issues too.

4. For all groups these images appear to be well crystal-
lized by the time the members become adolescents. Their impressions in this regard do not change much during the adolescent years (13 to 20), and the changes which occur tend to sharpen the differences in perspective between the English and the French.

5. Young Canadians from all backgrounds think of Canada more in terms of its contemporary North American roots than its European heritage. There is a high consensus that Canada has closer ties to the United States than to any other country, and this is particularly prominent in the thinking of French-speaking youth.

6. Among English-speaking young people, moreover, there is also a fairly high consensus that, on most characteristics, Canadians and Americans differ very little from one another. The main features distinguishing the two peoples are their relative wealth, and the form of government they have. In terms of personal characteristics or traits, tastes, life styles and general values about life, however, they view themselves very much as Americans. In fact they feel they have more in common with Americans than they have with French Canadians.

7. French youth on the other hand are sensitive to more areas of differentiation between Canadians and Americans, and on balance see themselves as having more in common with English-speaking Canadians than with Americans.

8. Ethnicity is seen by English-speaking young people as the main source of Canada's problems. They see much more potential cleavage on this than on any other social dimension, although these impressions do vary considerably from region to region. Those from the Maritimes and from Quebec feel that much more consensus is possible between French and English than do their counterparts from Ontario and the West.

9. French youth also feel that ethnic differences create Canada's main problem, but they are more likely than are English-speaking youth to think that consensus is possible between the groups. Quebec French are less optimistic on this score than are their counterparts living in English-speaking Canada.

Attitudes regarding bilingualism

These sections have already been written and I am, therefore, quoting sections from the report itself.

On balance the reactions of English-speaking youth to the question of bilingual goals for Canada indicate what could at best be assessed as a modest level of linguistic tolerance. Their reactions suggest on the one hand a fairly widespread acceptance and recognition that French has at least some role to play in Canadian life, but on the other a substantial though by no means overwhelming degree of reluctance to see any extension of this role.

The results indicate a widening divergence of sentiments of these fears more suggestive of behavioral implications and of change. The two groups are not too far apart in their views on whether a bilingual population would be a good thing for Canada nor in their acceptance of the existing constitutional position of French and English in Canadian society. They are considerably further apart however in their views on the teaching of two languages in schools and on the obligations that individuals have in becoming bilingual. And curiously, they are furthest apart of all in their attitude regarding the value of bilingual road signs, throughout Canada. These results would suggest than that the extension of French usage in English Canada

would probably be less unacceptable to young English Canadians when introduced through channels where French is already to some degree established.

Boys and girls differ considerably in their overall attitude regarding bilingualism. Within both language groups it is the girls who show the higher rate of commitment, the discrepancy being somewhat more pronounced among the English than the French. With regard to age counter-vailing trends are found in the responses of the two groups. Among the English a slight but consistent diminution of commitment may be noted in each progressively older group while among the French an equally consistent trend is found in the opposite direction. This suggests that as English-speaking young people pass through adolescence their tolerance for bilingualism decreases while over the same years French youth come to feel more strongly about the position of their language in Canadian society. Members of the two cultures thus emerge from the adolescent years a good deal further apart in their views on bilingualism than they were when they entered this phase of life.

Social class background cannot be said to have a very substantial impact on the outlook of either group on these issues. Besides ethnicity the strongest predicator by far of commitment to bilingualism was found to be the geographic factor. Among English youth there is a sharp lowering in favourable sentiments as one moves from east

to west. This pattern is continuous from region to region and tends to accelerate as one moves further and further westward.

It would appear that strong feeling regarding the position and status of the French language in Canadian society are more widespread among French Canadian youth living in regions of predominantly English influence. The overall pattern which emerges from these findings is that both groups' commitment to a bilingual Canada is stronger among persons living outside their region of cultural dominance.

Bilingual skills are quite unevenly distributed among Canadian young people just as they are among Canadian adults. This on balance characterizes only those who have contact with the other culture, however, among those isolated from these contacts almost identical proportions of French and English claim conversational facility in the second language.

When young people from the linguistic backgrounds come together then it is the French who make the greater linguistic adjustment, and the language of inter-group transactions thus becomes predominantly English.

Attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada are greatly influenced both by facility in the second language and by having contact with members of the other group. Young people who have the chance to converse in the second

language and who have developed the facility for doing so are much more likely to endorse the virtues of a bilingual national community.

Section III

The Study of Selected Leaders - P. Regenstreif

This study attempted to gather opinions and attitudes from four groups at the upper level of Canadian society. These groups represent political leaders, top officials in government bureaucracy, leaders in business, and key officials in the world of communication.

Each of the above fields was sampled in approximately the same number. A total of 99 subjects were interviewed in depth. Of these 63 were English speaking and 36 French speaking.

In the perspective of the G.R.S. survey the subjects responded much as did the Canadian category, though in a somewhat more emphatic way.

They almost unanimously commented on French-English relations when discussing important issues in Canada today. The burden of emphasis lay elsewhere, however, in concern for national unity. French-English relations were viewed as part of a large mix of difficulty that stands in the way of an authentic sense of Canadian identity. Of these the most important, and more important than French-English relations, was the strain between provincial and federal governments.

When ethnic relations were discussed in specific terms, the respondents referred to French-English relations in three categories - good, bad, and non-existent in a bad sense. One-third of the respondents chose the last formulation. Only 4% described matters as bad and none as very bad. Only 8% described them as very good. Perhaps "as good as can be expected" sums up the general view.

As to the future of French-English relations, there is optimism. Less than 10% of the group is pessimistic or without an opinion. About 50% envisage a general improvement of affairs. Another quarter view the recent developments in Quebec as evidence that some of the new ambitions of French Canadians are being realized.

In assessing the position of other ethnic groups in Canada, the respondents uniformly expressed satisfaction with the Canadian experiment. Almost none envisage a process of assimilation on the American pattern. The integration (favoured word) of migrants was viewed as being facilitated by the relative lack of any homogeneous Canadian culture or of a powerful national unity. There was extremely wide recognition of the French fact in Canada and also of the possibilities of choice for migrants in selecting between two language groups for their affiliation. In general the "duality" of Canada is also

completely accepted in a tacit way.

Hence for the other ethnic groups in Canada the respondents expressed optimism of a rosy sort.

On the question of language use, and its consequences, there were substantial differences in the point of view of French Canadians and English Canadians. One thought things were bad, the other as good as can be expected. Yet on prescriptions the two groups converge. None expect a totally bilingual federal public service. None reject bilingualism. There was agreement that it should come into play at the executive levels and that for lower-level civil servants the question must be viewed as a regional problem. There was agreement too on the desirability of bilingualism at the provincial government level. This was more marked in regions like Ontario, where the need to provide services for Italians had induced a heightened language consciousness, than in provinces with little recent immigration such as the western Prairies.

As to achieving bilingualism, French in school at an early age is accepted by all. Over 85% would accept this as a compulsory school requirement. There was little sympathy for adding other languages as compulsory ones, but no objections to third languages on an optional basis.

As for developing schools in which French is the language of instruction, there was little objection in principle. There were questions raised about the feasibility of

finding staff, and concern that if the end result was a poorer level of education, the intended beneficiaries might actually be impoverished in competing in the work world.

On the question on basing schools on either religion or language, this population showed decisive consensus. Over 70% favoured language only as the basis for organizing schools as compared to 11% who favoured confessional schools.

This brief set of comments on the study of elites does less than justice to the forthcoming report. It has selected only those aspects most readily related to the G.R.S. report. But since the respondents in the elite group tend to see Canadian major problems as lying more largely in other sectors (in terms of regional strains and federal-provincial struggles) only a fraction of the data is reflected in the comments offered above.

